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A Companion to Linear B

Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World

VOLUME 3

edited by

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PEETERS
LOUVAIN-LA-NEUVE – WALPOLE, MA
2014

A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

D/2014/0602/58 ISSN 0779-1666 ISBN 978-90-429-2932-6 (Peeters Leuven)
ISBN 978-2-7584-0192-6 (Peeters France)

© 2014 PEETERS et Publications Linguistiques de Louvain asbl
Bondgenotenlaan 153
B-3000 Leuven

Printed in Belgium

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FOREWORD

The second volume of this *Companion* appeared in August 2011. It contained six chapters: 1. Interpreting the Linear B records: some guidelines (Y. DUHOUX); 2. Mycenaean scribes, scribal hands and palaeography (T.G. PALAIMA); 3. The geography of the Mycenaean kingdoms (J. BENNET); 4. Mycenaean religion and cult (S. HILLER); 5. Mycenaean onomastics (J.L. GARCÍA RAMÓN); 6. Mycenaean and Homeric language (C.J. RUIJGH†).

The first volume appeared in August 2008. Its nine chapter covered the following subjects: 1. The Decipherment of Linear B (M. POPE); 2. How to begin: an introduction to Linear B conventions and resources (R. PALMER); 3. Chronology of the Linear B texts (J. DRIESSEN); 4. Mycenaean history (P. DE FIDIO); 5. Mycenaean society (C. SHELMERDINE); 6. Mycenaean economy (J.T. KILLEN); 7. Mycenaean technology (A. BERNABÉ - E.R. LUJÁN); 8. The Linear B inscribed vases (P. VAN ALFEN); 9. Mycenaean anthology (Y. DUHOUX).

The content of this third volume is somewhat different from that announced in 2011. First, the chapter on writing by J. Melena is much longer than originally envisaged, and indeed much longer than any of the other chapters, almost a book in its own right. The editors, confronted with a wealth of material and a depth of analysis which are unparalleled elsewhere, decided to ignore their initial plans, and print it in its entirety. Second, of the other chapters previously announced we publish here only John Bennet on Linear B and Homer. Severe health problems encountered by one of the editors prevented her from completing her task at this stage, but both editors agreed that it was important to make available without further delay the two chapters which they had jointly edited. A comprehensive index, due as all the previous indices to Yves Duhoux, concludes the volume. It is now hoped that a fourth volume may complete the work.

As in the preceding volumes we have not tried to impose uniformity in transcription when two or more possibilities were available. As stated earlier we know that this multiplicity of transcriptions (e.g. *ekhei* and *hekhei* for *e-ke*, etc.) may be confusing for the reader, and especially for the beginner, but to impose an artificial uniformity would conceal the real uncertainty which still prevails among Mycenologists and consequently would give a wrong image of state of the field.

YVES DUHOUX
ANNA MORPURGO DAVIES

CHAPTER 17

MYCENAEAN WRITING*

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SUMMARY

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* The editors received a first version of this chapter in July, 2008.

[1] This contribution has finally been completed thanks to the friendly insistence of Yves Duhoux, who remained a continuous support in my recent personal difficulties: I am most indebted to him. This work has been greatly eased by the electronic files with the *Indices of Linear B* by Francisco Aura and it is my pleasure to acknowledge such a debt. These *Indices* are now available at http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portal/diccionariomicenico/. Note that they are based on editions of texts in preparation and it is possible therefore that some references do not match the current editions. Richard J. Firth went through the entire text and the English wording benefited as much from his perspicacity as the contents did from his keen suggestions: my warmest thanks are due to him. Professors C. García Castillero, J.L. García Ramón, and J. Méndez Dosuna, and Dr M.F. Lane read an earlier draft of this chapter and gave me both sound advice and comments: I am very indebted to them. Professor Tom Palaima kindly went through the text in an advanced stage and I thank deeply him for his contribution. The editors, and especially Anna Morpurgo Davies, kindly went far beyond their editorial duties and offered valuable improvements both in the content and in the arrangement of the text. However, in the last instance every flaw is entirely the responsibility of the author, who dedicates this chapter to the memory of his sons.

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§17.1. Introduction

At the end of the XIX[th] century, Sir Arthur Evans[2] launched his quest for writing in pre-alphabetic Crete and his spade unearthed a completely new civilization. Among the archaeological remains he found a considerable number of inscriptions, mainly incised on clay, using signs of unknown scripts. After studying the epigraphic material, Evans succeeded in identifying three kinds of script. In his view the oldest one was a pictographic-looking script of advanced type similar to the Egyptian hieroglyphic system. He thought that this 'pictographic' script had subsequently been replaced by two simpler systems that had evolved

[2] A.J. Evans claimed that he was shown a Linear B tablet from Knossos in 1895. He began his excavations of the 'palace of Minos' in 1900. On Evans and Knossos cf. Brown 1986.

from it. Evans called them both Linear scripts: to the oldest he assigned the capital letter A and to the newest the letter B.

Nowadays we follow Evans in recognizing in Bronze Age Crete three different scripts conventionally called Hieroglyphic,[3] Linear A and Linear B, but obviously our understanding of the dating, distribution and nature of the scripts has improved.[4] We must also add to the list the so-called Phaestos Disk,[5] a unique piece which was discovered by Italian archaeologists in 1908. While it is normally accepted that Hieroglyphic Cretan, Linear A and Linear B belong to the same family of scripts even if their exact relationship is disputed, the origin of the Phaestos disk is uncertain and some scholars assume that it was imported into Crete, a view that seems contradicted by the discovery at Arkalohori of a bronze axe inscribed with similar signs.[6] In addition to the Cretan scripts mentioned above we have in Cyprus some related forms of writing, the so-called Cypro-Minoan scripts in the Bronze Age and Syllabic Cypriot in the first millennium.[7] The latter, a syllabic script, which was mainly used to write Greek and was deciphered in the nineteenth century, played a considerable rôle in the decipherment of Linear B.

The representation of human language with graphic symbols takes very different forms, but it is customary to classify the various writing systems into two main types. The first, sometimes called pictographic or ideographic, is fundamentally iconic: the graphic signs aim at expressing meaning, in theory either complex meanings such as sentences or phrases, or word meanings ('tree', 'bird', etc.). It is sometimes possible to understand the message even if one does not know the language, because the signs (pictograms) are immediately recognizable. The second type aims at rendering (partially or fully) the sounds of the language. The signs are not iconic but purely phonetic and tend to represent either syllables (as for instance in the cuneiform syllabaries) or individual phonemes (as in the Greek alphabet). For some periods and some scripts it is possible to follow a development of the script from pictographic to phonetic, but it is important to note that most ancient writing systems are neither fully pictographic nor fully phonetic but combine characteristics of both types.

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[3] On the Cretan Hieroglyphic Script, the papers by OLIVIER (1976, 1989 and 2012) are fundamental. See OLIVIER - GODART 1996 for the corpus of inscriptions.

[4] A useful, general approach to the Aegean Scripts can be found in the booklet by CHADWICK 1987a. See also DUHOUX 1998 for another useful overview from a predominantly linguistic perspective.

[5] OLIVIER 1975, DUHOUX 1977 and 2000, and GODART 1990.

[6] MARINATOS 1935, 212ff.

[7] See OLIVIER 2007, and OLIVIER 2012. Cf. also PALAIMA 1989. On the Classical Cypriot Syllabary cf. MASSON 1983; on its origin cf. CHADWICK 1979.

The first attempts to create writing systems may have started independently in different parts of the world. In the area defined in the West by the Western shore of the Aegean Sea and in the East by Mesopotamia, the Sumerian script had emerged by the late fourth millennium BC (although its precedents could be traced back a couple of millennia), and the first evidence for the early Egyptian Hieroglyphic script might be dated to about 3000 BC. In comparison to these systems, the Cretan scripts are late creations (2100-1600 BC for the Hierolyphic script; 1750-1325 BC for the Linear A script;[8] and 1450-1200 BC for the Linear B script)[9] and, despite Evans' claim that these scripts had an Egyptian origin, it is more likely that they represent autonomous Aegean systems.

It is now clear that all the Cretan scripts, just like the Cypriot scripts, are phonetically based though they also use logographic signs or logograms. These are signs, mostly pictorial, each of which corresponds to one specific word of the language ('tree', 'wine', etc.) but normally does not provide any information about the phonetic nature of that word.

We shall attempt to deal with Linear B at two levels:

First, the basic facts are put forward. They concern the most obvious features of the Linear B script which may enable a non-specialist reader to decode the Mycenaean transliterated forms and to identify the underlying alph. Gr. words (§17.2).

Secondly, an in-depth picture is offered for the more informed reader. This will include personal views which are more or less hypothetical (§17.3).

§17.2. The Linear B Script: the basic facts

We start with a factual account aimed at providing the basic information necessary to access the texts for a reader who is not an expert in either Linear B or scripts in general: it gives a brief account of the writing system, of the various types of signs and of the spelling rules. It should answer the question: how is it possible that a transliterated word like *pa-te* can be read as either /pantes/ 'all' or /patēr/ 'father'? It will then outline the writing conventions before turning to an analysis of the logograms and other non-syllabic signs. Controversy is avoided and the points listed in this section are accepted by most Mycenologists. For more advanced discussion, a detailed analysis, and my personal views, I refer to §17.3.

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[8] Duhoux 1989 offers the best discussion of the different problems posed by the decipherment of Linear A; see also Duhoux 2004.

[9] Vandenabeele 1985; a thorough revision is Schoep 1995, with a range from MM IIA till LMIB. See also Driessen 2008.

§17.2.1. *A short history of the Linear B script*

Evans assumed that the Linear B signary was close to the earlier Linear A script, but had evolved and improved more recently. However, the relationship between the two Linear scripts is far from clear and there still remain open questions concerning their respective sources. A simple way of settling the problem assumes that Linear B was adapted from Linear A in order to write the Greek language.[10] However, the two scripts differ in some points, for instance, in the treatment of smaller quantities (these are indicated through a system of fractions in Linear A, but through a complex system of weights and measures in Linear B, as will be discussed later on).

In order to account for the origin of Linear B we must consider the difficult questions of the date and place of its creation, but we must also account for the differences between the two Linear writing systems.[11]

The catalyst that prompted the EMERGENCE of Linear B was probably the cultural contact of Mycenaeans and Minoans. For the Mycenaeans, there was a whole process of cultural Minoanization, which would eventually lead to the adoption of the script for administrative purposes. The need for a bureaucracy which required some form of writing may be related to the increase in economic power and the development of social and political organizations in the Greek sites of Mainland Greece, a fact which, in archaeological terms, points to the time of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, i.e. to Late Helladic I (*ca* 1600 BC). Thus, the DATE of emergence of the Linear B Script must be later than the beginning of the XVIth century BC, and obviously earlier than that of our first documents (Late Helladic IIIA 2 = 1370/1360-1300).[12]

The PLACE where Linear B was adapted from Linear A has been much discussed and the argument focused on two contrasting views: Linear B could either have been created on the Greek Mainland and eventually brought to Crete during the Mycenaean conquest of the island, in a round-trip journey, or it could have been adapted from Linear A on Crete itself and then exported to the Mainland. Arguments of equal weight can be used to support both interpretations, but what is plainly clear is the existence of an extraordinary palaeographic

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[10] The comparison between Linear A and Linear B has been the subject of a study by DUHOUX 2006.

[11] See PALAIMA - SIKKENGA 1999. A sound assessment of the whole question is given by PALAIMA 1989.

[12] An early date has been suggested for an inscribed pebble found at Kafkania near Olympia in ARAPOGIANNI - RAMBACH - GODART 1999, 39ff. (see also ARAPOGIANNI - RAMBACH - GODART 2002), but the alleged Linear B signs on it seem to have been engraved with a sharp iron or steel point. Other arguments in support of its modernity are mentioned by PALAIMA 2002-2003. For the chronology of Mycenaean documents see DRIESSEN 2008, but note that the new fragment of a Linear B tablet from Iklaina is dated at least early LH IIIA2 (SHELMERDINE 2012).

unity among the Mainland documents. This view is reinforced by comparing the latest findings from Thebes with the more recent findings from Mycenae, which are of earlier date (LH IIIA2, 1370/1360-1300 BC), suggesting a unique source from which the Linear B script was spread. Yet several scenarios are at hand for explaining such a fact. J.-P. Olivier once claimed that there was a 'Mycenaean quarter', a kind of 'Mycenaean factory' neighbouring Knossos, from which the script spread to every 'corresponding trading post' on the Mainland.[13] However, the changes introduced in the Linear A source could not easily be explained in a Cretan milieu where this writing system was in general use,[14] and J.-P. Olivier now seems to have accepted the Mainland hypothesis.[15] Nevertheless, we could propose that a third, suggestive candidate was Miletus (*Millawanda* or *Milawata*) on the Eastern shore of the Aegean. The site was settled by Minoans from MM II (1800-1700 BC) onwards and was eventually occupied by a Mycenaean settlement from LH IIIA1 (1390-1370/ 1360 BC) onwards. Minoan scribes working there could have instructed the new Mycenaean rulers in the use of the script in a city that was probably the seat of the Mycenaean power in Anatolia.[16] Anatolian scribes were assumed to be at work also in its court, as proved by the so-called *Tawagalawas* letter sent to the King of *Ahhijawa*, whose brother named Tawagalawas (a Hittite name disguising the Mycenaean *Etewoklewēs*?) was then at Millawanda.[17] The Levantine usages of the site and its territory could easily explain the replacement of the Linear A system of weight and measures with that used in Linear B, as will be stated below. However, in spite of its attractiveness, the main obstacle for this suggestion is chronological, since it is likely that Linear B came into existence at least one century before the beginning of the Mycenaean takeover of Miletus. Therefore more archaeological evidence is still needed.[18]

The differences between Linear A and Linear B are numerous and substantial. They affect the syllabary itself, for, although both signaries have approximately the same number of signs, about twenty signs are new in Linear B, even if we do not consider the shape differences in the corresponding signs of both systems. Moreover it is far from certain that the consonantal and, to a lesser degree, the vocalic values of both syllabaries were identical. Indeed, it is not easy to compare

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[13] On the Linear B script and the problems pertaining to its origin cf. SACCONI 1976; HOOKER 1979; OLIVIER 1979.

[14] See BENNETT 1999 for the conclusion after an analysis of the metrograms.

[15] OLIVIER 2012.

[16] BRYCE 1989, 1999, and 2004, 257ff., NIEMEIER 1998, and MEE 1998. On the other hand, Miletus could easily represent the place *at the frontier* of the scenario suggested by MELCHERT (forthcoming) for the interaction between Mycenaeans and Hittites.

[17] BRYCE 1999.

[18] PALAIMA 1982, 18 also speculated on the possible rôle of the LMIB (1500-1430 BC) Cyclades as a go-between in the transmission of the script.

	a	*e*	*i*	*o*	*u*
Ø	*a* A B 08	*e* A B 38	*i* A B 28	*o* A B 61	*u* A B 10
d	*da* A B 01	*de* A B 45	*di* A B 07		*du* A B 51
y	*ja* A B 57	*je* A B 46			$^{j}/_{2}u^{??}$ A B 65
k	*ka* A B 77	*ke* A B 44	*ki* A B 67	*ko* A B 70	*ku* A B 81
k^{w}	*qa* A B 16	*qe* A B 78	*qi* A B 21		
m	*ma* A B 80	*me* A B 13	*mi* A B 73		*mu* A B 23
n	*na* A B 06	*ne* A B 24	*ni* A B 30		*nu* A B 55
nw	*nwa* A B 48				
p	*pa* A B 03		*pi* A B 39	*po* A B 11	*pu* A B 50
$^{m}b^{g}$	$pa_2^{??}$ A B 56		$pi_2^{??}$ A B 22		pu_2 A B 29
r/l	*ra* A B 60	*re* A B 27	*ri* A B 53	*ro* A B 02	*ru* A B 26
r/l$_2$	ra_2 A B 76				
s	*sa* A B 31	*se* A B 09	*si* A B 41		*su* A B 58
t	*ta* A B 59	*te* A B 04	*ti* A B 37	*to* A B 05	*tu* A B 69
t_2	ta_2 A B 66				
w	*wa* A B 54	*we* A B 75	*wi* A B 40		
z	*za* A B 17	*ze* A B 74		*zo* A B 20	$^{j}/_{2}u^{??}$ A B 65
?	**18* A B 18	**34* A B 34	**47* A B 47	**49* A B 49	**79* A B 79
?	**82* A B 82	**86* A B 86			

Fig. 17.1. The syllabograms common to Linear A and B
The transcriptions followed by ?? are not officially endorsed — cf. Fig 17.3 — and are explained below under the corresponding paragraphs.

Linear A and Linear B signs on two grounds: similarity in shape is of course important but it is often difficult to know what degree of variation should be allowed. Also, since we do not have any independent evidence for the value of the Linear A signs, we lack a way of checking the validity of our comparison.

Linear B generally avoids the use of two graphic devices much used in Linear A, the transaction[19] signs and the ligatures (combinations of several signs treated as one entity), although there remain in Linear B a few instances of the latter. On the other hand, although the number signs (arithmograms) are continued in Linear B with slight variations, there is a radical change in the Linear A fractional system (a system of aliquot fractions allowing combination into more complex fractions of an Egyptian type[20]), because Linear B instead uses a system of submultiple symbols, which we shall describe in detail later on.

Whatever the answers to all these questions, it is clear that the Linear B script, in the form in which we have it, represents a developed and coherent system of administrative communication, as we shall see in the description that follows.

The question of the END OF THE MYCENAEAN SCRIPT in Greece is closely linked with that of the extent of literacy in the Mycenaean world.[21] To date, Mycenaean writing seems to be restricted to the administrative sphere.

A number of stirrup-jars with short Linear B painted inscriptions do not speak for a wide knowledge of writing, since almost certainly they could only be read in the palace environment, before their export as trade containers, and in some cases those inscriptions seem to have been painted by illiterate people.[22]

Three instances of non-clay inscriptions need a brief evaluation: a seal from a tomb at Medeon, found without a clear archeological context, bears three Linear B signs, *e-ko-ja*. The sealing then runs *ja-ko-e*.[23] The text defies interpretation (/yā Kohei/ 'She [at] Kos' seems bizarre) and is very probably an instance of purely decorative use of the Linear B signs. The same can be true of a number of *ka* signs (drawn seven times) on a tomb lintel at Kazanaki, Volos, although the number could correspond to the seven corpses buried.[24] Finally, a fragmentary word on a probable stone weight (which is broken at one end) from Dimini in Thessaly, pertaining to the administrative sphere, could be a personal name or even a verbal form.[25]

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[19] Unless the Linear B abbreviation *o(pero)* is considered a 'transaction sign', cf. §17.5.

[20] GARDINER 1927, §§265f. The Linear A fraction system was not influenced by the Egyptian Hieroglyphic writing, but by the Hieratic one, cf. BENNETT 1999, §7. For the different signs for Egyptian fractions see MÖLLER 1927, III 667-713, e.g. no. 667: ⅔ 𓏴; no. 668: ½ 𓎆; no. 670: ¼ 𓎇; no. 674: ⅛ 𓎈; no. 678: 1/16 𓎉 1/32 𓎊 1/64 𓎋.

[21] PALAIMA 1987.

[22] See VAN ALFEN 2008, 237; DUHOUX 2010.

[23] OLIVIER 1999, 434.

[24] ADRIMI SISMANI in WHITLEY 2004-2005, 59ff.

[25] ADRIMI SISMANI - GODART 2005. The word is *e-qe-qi*[, which immediately reminds us of the verbal forms *qe-qi-no-to* PY Ta 642.2.3 (Hand 2) and *qe-qi-no-me-na/o* PY Ta 707.2+ (Hand 2), Va 482.a (Hand 42), so a reading /en-g^{w}eg^{w}i[n…/ seems feasible. On the alleged inscriptions on amber pieces from Bernstorf, Germany, cf. DEL FREO 2008, 221f. For the Kafkania pebble see note 12.

Writing seems therefore to have been the linchpin of the Mycenaean administration and to have been indissolubly linked with the fate of the Mycenaean Palaces. According to the extant evidence currently available, we must conclude that the collapse of the Mycenaean centres in LH IIIB/C (1300-1100 BC) led to more than the physical disappearance of the Linear B documents. In Crete and the Mainland it also brought about the loss of the indigenous form of literacy, the limited Linear B literacy that had started a few centuries earlier. Linear B was only resurrected in modern times together with the other remains of Mycenaean civilization.

§17.2.2. *The Linear B signs: the different types*

In most scripts the total number of different signs provides crucial information about the writing system. We distinguished above between pictographic and phonetically-based systems. Most frequently we encounter three basic types. The first type is a logographic (better than ideographic) script, in which each sign represents a word; consequently the script ought to have as many signs as there are words in the language. The second type is a phonetic syllabic script, where each sign represents a syllable or at least a pronounceable sound sequence, i.e. either a vowel or a combination of vowel and consonant(s). Such systems often evolve from a logographic system, sometimes through the so-called acrophonic principle: a sign no longer reflects the entire word, but only its initial syllable. In this type of script, the number of signs needed is reduced but can vary between 50 and several hundreds, depending on the syllabic structure of the language in question and on the nature of the syllabograms themselves. If each possible syllable had a sign of its own, in a language like Greek we would have signs for V (/a/), VC (/an/), CV (/ta/), CCV (/tra/), CCCV (/stra/), CVC (/tan/), CCVC (/tran/), etc. (V = any vowel, C = any consonant). The total number of signs would be immense and therefore most syllabic scripts adopt some drastic form of simplification. They may for instance have only signs for open syllables, i.e. syllables which end in a vowel: V, CV but not VC or CVC or CCVC, etc.

Finally there is a third type, the alphabetic script, which aims at having a sign for each phoneme of the language even if this is hardly ever achieved. It is clear that an alphabet needs a smaller number of signs than a syllabic or logographic script. The total number of signs in the known alphabets varies; it may be somewhat lower than twenty or somewhat higher than thirty or may be anything inbetween.

In practice, the attested systems can hardly ever be assigned exclusively to one of these three basic types, because in most instances they are mixed and

contain elements belonging to more than one type. For example, in our current alphabetic writing the use of logographic elements such as the numbers 0, 1, 2, etc. is not unfamiliar. This is a simple example, but it illustrates perfectly a mixed type. It goes without saying that early scripts normally do not have alphabetic signs and that the signs for *a, e, i, o, u* in Linear B are not 'alphabetic', but are syllabograms with a zero consonant as initial element: ØV.

The Cretan Hieroglyphic and Linear scripts probably belong to the so-called logo-syllabic scripts which use both logographic and syllabic signs. To this type also belong for example the Sumerian, Proto-Elamite (?), Proto-Indic (?), Chinese, Egyptian and Hittite scripts.

Among the Cretan scripts, Linear B is obviously the script that we know best since it is the only one fully deciphered. Yet even before the decipherment it was clear that the script included different types of signs: syllabic signs, logographic signs including the signs for measures (of weight, capacity, etc.), numbers and text markers (word dividers, etc.). Syllabic signs or syllabograms occur in groups often separated by word dividers, while logographic signs or logograms tend to occur in isolation and are normally followed by numbers or by the measure signs. It is notable that, unlike most of the Near Eastern scripts, Linear B does not allow the mixed spellings of the type found, e.g., in Hittite where a full syllabic spelling can be replaced by a logogram followed by phonetic complements (cf. *iš-ha-a-aš* 'lord' vs EN-*aš*, where EN is the logogram for 'lord' and *-aš* the nominative singular ending). Also, Linear B does not have the determinative signs which, e.g., in cuneiform may mark the semantic class to which a word belongs (men, animals, stone objects, cereals, etc.).

Before the decipherment, E.L. Bennett, Jr. established a list of the syllabograms and ordered them according to their shape in a conventional order. This allowed the creation of indices and facilitated analytical studies, which were very much needed at the time. Yet the only way to refer to the signs in a publication was to produce a drawing, but at the time this would have made for very difficult typesetting. A proposal by the American epigraphist Sterling Dow led to an easier praxis, which overcame this difficulty: all syllabograms were assigned a two-digit number (in italics to distinguish them from true numbers and usually preceded by an asterisk) in the conventional order arranged by Bennett. We still speak of signs **01, *05, *65*, etc. and refer to the syllabograms in this manner when their phonetic value has not yet been established.

§17.2.3. *The Linear B syllabograms*

The syllabograms are generally transliterated, i.e. the signs concerned are represented by one or more Latin letters (V, CV, CCV). The Fig. 17.2 gives the standard list now adopted. It is based on the list produced for one of the

AB 01	*da*	AB 16	*qa*	AB 31	*sa*	AB 47	**47*	()B 62	*pte*	AB 77	*ka*
AB 02	*ro*	AB 17	*za*	()B 32	*qo*	AB 48	*nwa*	()B 63	**63*	AB 78	*qe*
AB 03	*pa*	AB 18	**18*	()B 33	ra_3	AB 49	**49*	()B 64	**64*	AB 79	**79*
AB 04	*te*	()B 19	**19*	AB 34	**34*	AB 50	*pu*	AB 65	**65*	AB 80	*ma*
AB 05	*to*	AB 20	*zo*	()B 36	*jo*	AB 51	*du*	AB 66	ta_2	AB 81	*ku*
AB 06	*na*	AB 21	*qi*	AB 37	*ti*	()B 52	*no*	AB 67	*ki*	AB 82	**82*
AB 07	*di*	AB 22	**22*	AB 38	*e*	AB 53	*ri*	()B 68	ro_2	()B 83	**83*
AB 08	*a*	AB 23	*mu*	AB 39	*pi*	AB 54	*wa*	AB 69	*tu*	AB 85	*au*
AB 09	*se*	AB 24	*ne*	AB 40	*wi*	AB 55	*nu*	AB 70	*ko*	AB 86	**86*
AB 10	*u*	()B 25	a_2	AB 41	*si*	AB 56	**56*	()B 71	*dwe*	AB 87	*twe*
AB 11	*po*	AB 26	*ru*	()B 42	*wo*	AB 57	*ja*	()B 72	*pe*	()B 90	*dwo*
()B 12	*so*	AB 27	*re*	AB 43	a_3	AB 58	*su*	AB 73	*mi*	()B 91	*two*
AB 13	*me*	AB 28	*i*	AB 44	*ke*	AB 59	*ta*	AB 74	*ze*	Numeri deleti: ~~35~~, ~~84~~, ~~88~~, 89	
()B 14	*do*	AB 29	pu_2	AB 45	*de*	AB 60	*ra*	AB 75	*we*		
()B 15	*mo*	AB 30	*ni*	AB 46	*je*	AB 61	*o*	AB 76	ra_2		

AB: *sign borrowed from Linear A*
()B: *sign created by Linear B*
01 etc.: *numeration of the 'conventional order'*

da: *sign in transliteration*
: *syllabogram in Linear B Script*
(*original font by* JEAN-PIERRE OLIVIER)

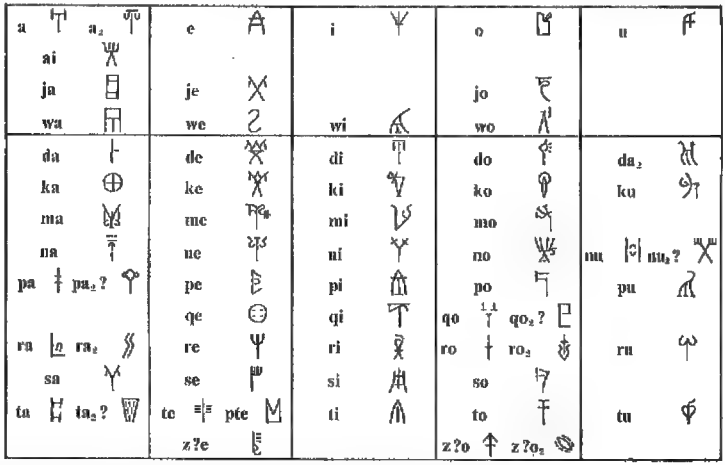
Fig. 17.2. The Linear B syllabograms
(the Salamanca convention updated)

Mycenaean Colloquia, the 1970 Salamanca Colloquium,[26] which derived itself from the conventional arrangement devised by E.L. Bennett. The tables of Fig. 17.3 and 17.8 summarize the various changes introduced into the transliteration of the Linear B signs after the decipherment and adopted in successive Mycenaean Colloquia.

[26] These tables presented in *Acta Mycenaea* I, xvi-xxii were drawn by the present writer.

TRANSLITERATIONS OF LINEAR B: ADOPTED IN THE MYCENAEAN COLLOQUIA

STARTING POINT: TABLE OF SYLLABOGRAMS IN *Evidence* (1953)



QIF COLLOQUIUM 1956 (1st), *Études Mycéniennes*, 238f.

- Transliteration of **20* (formerly *z?o*) as *zo*, **23* as *mu*, **33* as *rai*, **48* (formerly nu_2?) as *nwa*, **51* (formerly da_2) as *du*?, **66* (formerly ta_2?) as ta_2, **74* (formerly *z?e*) as *ze*, **58* (formerly qo_2?) as *su*
- **79* (formerly $z?o_2$) left untransliterated (*zu* and *zi* were merely proposals)

WINGSPREAD COLLOQUIUM 1961 (3rd), *Wingspread Colloquium*, 14

- Definition of 'doublets' written with subscript (and no longer superscript) numbers: a_2, pu_2, ra_3, ta_2, ro_2, ra_2
- Transliteration of **16* (formerly pa_2?) as *qa*, **51* (formerly da_2?) as *du*, **71* as *dwe* and **90* as *dwo*
- **34* and **35* are left untransliterated

CAMBRIDGE COLLOQUIUM 1965 (4th), *Cambridge Colloquium*, 7

Transliteration of **91* as *two*

SALAMANCA COLLOQUIUM 1970 (5th), *Acta Mycenaea* I, xvi

- Transliteration of **85* as *au* and **87* as *twe*
- The syllabograms **18*, **19*, **22*, **34*, **35*, **47*, **56*, **63*, **64*, **65*, **79*, **82*, **83*, **86* remain untransliterated

AUSTIN COLLOQUIUM 2000 (11th), forthcoming

The syllabograms **34* and **35* are recognized as a single sign transliterated as **34*, due to the lower frequency of **35*

Fig. 17.3. New syllabograms' transliterations officially adopted in the Mycenaean Colloquia

The BASIC syllabary includes the possible combinations of 13 consonantal values and 5 vocalic values yielding open syllables of the type V(owel) or C(onsonant) V(owel). This can best be represented in a table (Fig. 17.4) which has only six empty slots (two of which may be seen as due to structural gaps). Graphemes are shown in italics.

	ă	ĕ	ĭ	ŏ	ŭ
Ø-	*a*	*e*	*i*	*o*	*u*
d-	*da*	*de*	*di*	*do*	*du*
j-	*ja*	*je*	vacat[1]	*jo*	vacat[2]
g-/k$^{(h)}$-	*ka*	*ke*	*ki*	*ko*	*ku*
m-	*ma*	*me*	*mi*	*mo*	*mu*
n-	*na*	*ne*	*ni*	*no*	*nu*
b/p$^{(h)}$-	*pa*	*pe*	*pi*	*po*	*pu*
g^{w}-/k$^{w(h)}$-	*qa*	*qe*	*qi*	*qo*	vacat[3]
l-/r-	*ra*	*re*	*ri*	*ro*	*ru*
s-	*sa*	*se*	*si*	*so*	*su*
t$^{(h)}$-	*ta*	*te*	*ti*	*to*	*tu*
w-	*wa*	*we*	*wi*	*wo*	vacat[4]
z-	*za*	*ze*	vacat[5]	*zo*	vacat[6]

[1] Possible structural gap, but see below for alternative values of the *j*-signs.
[2] Possible structural gap, but see below for alternative values of the *j*-signs. This slot may be filled by **65*: see MELENA 2012.
[3] Structural gap since a sequence **k^{w}u* had already changed into *ku*.
[4] Structural gap since a value /wu/ could have been rendered by a plain *u*.
[5] We may wonder whether a /zi/ sequence existed. If not, this could be a structural gap but see below.
[6] For a possible *zu*[?] sign, see below.

Fig. 17.4. The basic Linear B syllabary

It is clear that some crucial phonemic distinctions of the spoken Greek language could not have formal expression in the basic syllabary, which suffers from underdifferentiation from the point of view of the language. We list a few points below.

VOWEL QUANTITY is not marked in writing and the same signs indicate both long and short vowels. Other syllabaries indicate length doubling the vowel e.g. **da-a* for /dā/, but this procedure was exploited in Mycenaean for

other purposes such as to indicate compound boundary or disyllabic sequences separated by intervocalic aspiration. The absence of any diacritic or special signs to distinguish long and short vowels often makes it difficult for the modern scholar to identify the underlying words, and one must turn to their context in the hope that it may solve the problem.

There is no diacritic for ACCENT, but a kind of interpunction (usually known as 'word divider') often separates accentual units, which may consist of either a single word or a word group with only one main accent (i.e. an accented element together with proclitic or enclitic elements).[27]

The stop signs do not indicate VOICE or ASPIRATION distinctions except for the apical series, where there are different signs for the voiced and the voiceless (or voiceless aspirated) apicals (*da* vs *ta*, etc.). For the labial, dorsal and labiovelar voiced stops, the conventional transliteration *pa, ka, qa*, etc. renders voiceless, voiced and voiceless aspirate stops.

There is only one sign series for /r/ and /l/, the two LIQUID RESONANTS of Greek, although some /l/'s of Greek seem to be written with *d*-signs. The series is conventionally transliterated as *ra re ri ro ru*, although the use of *la le li lo lu* would had been equally legitimate.

The ZETA-SERIES (*za, ze, zo* and possibly $zi^{??}$, $zu^{??}$) most probably represents the outcome of the depalatalization (or a full-palatalization) of former palatalized stops, although there is much discussion about the actual phonetic nature of these sounds (affricates?).[28] Further discussion in §17.3.2.2.

On the other hand some phonemes, which were lost or almost lost in first millennium Greek, are still marked in the Mycenaean script:

LABIOVELARS, i.e., the inherited series of labialized velar obstruents (a velar stop along with a labial co-articulation: /k^w/, etc.) are still extant in Mycenaean and have a whole sign series of their own, transliterated with *qa, qe, qi, qo*:[29] dissimilation of the labial articulation before /u/ accounts for the absence of a

---

[27] Word separation can also be indicated through a change in the sign size or a different arrangement of the text, but the study of these procedures belongs more to an analysis of the scribal practices than to a description of the syllabary itself.

[28] See HEUBECK 1971. CRESPO 1985 claims that the *z*-series represents (middle) palatal stops, while the *s*-series would stand for affricates, which is unlikely. See also BRIXHE 1996.

[29] The labiovelar series can be also used for writing clusters of inherited dorsals plus /w/; thus *i-qo* and *i-qi-ja* stand for /ikwos/ 'horse' (cf. Lat. *equus*) and /ikwi̯ā/ 'horse (chariot)'; in our view this is merely a graphic fact and there is no need for transcriptions like /ikk^{w}os/ or /ikk^{w}iā/. It is possible that a variant spelling is attested in *e-pi i-ku-wo-i-pi* in the furniture (tables?) inventory KN V(2) 280.15 (Hand 124). It may stand for /epi ikwoihip^{h}i/ 'on a pair of trestles'; the cluster /kwy/ written with a *z*-sign in an allegro variant may occur in *i-za-a-to-mo-i* PY Fn 50.8 (Stylus 324 of Class iii) /iʧa#art^{h}moihi/ cf. *i-qo-na-to-mo* /ikwōnart^{h}moi/ 'equestrian bonds'? PY Eq 146.11 (Hand 1).

**qu* sign and the resulting structural gap. These sounds vanished from the Greek language in post-Mycenaean times. Further discussion in §17.3.2.1.

The so-called *YOD*-SOUND, i.e., the inherited palatal approximant [j], is expressed by a sign series transliterated as *ja, je, jo* (plus possibly $ji^{??}$ and $ju^{??}$, see below), although it is likely that the inherited phoneme was lost by the time of the tablets; the signs also served to mark the glide between /i/ and a following vowel.

The so-called *WAU*-SOUND, i.e. the inherited labial approximant [w], is consistently retained and has an entire sign series of its own (*wa, we, wi, wo*), while it was lost in Ionic-Attic and only partially kept in some dialects of first millennium Greek. The *w*-series also indicates the glide between /u/ and a following vowel.

Some non-structural gaps in the basic signary can result from our partial knowledge of the script to date and could be filled in the near future by the incorporation of new transliterations of currently untransliterated syllabograms. Elsewhere (MELENA 2012) it is argued that two signs, **63* and **65*, if correctly interpreted, may help to fill the non-structural gaps in the Fig. 17.4: for **63* we argue that it can be attributed a double value $ji^{??}$ and $zi^{??}$ and for **65* that it can be attributed the values $ju^{??}$ and $zu^{??}$. The two signs could be transliterated as $^{j}/_{z}i^{??}$ and $^{j}/_{z}u^{??}$ thus showing that *four* values are rendered by only *two* signs. If this is accepted, the only gaps in the table would be structural: instead of the missing **wu* Linear B uses *u* and **qu* was not necessary because a sound change altered the initial labiovelar to /k/ (§17.4). The total number of 'basic signs' would then be 61.

This basic syllabary allows the rendering of any Greek text, using a series of rules to be discussed below (see §17.2.5 and §17.3.4.2 for a detailed account).

These 59 (or 61, see above) basic syllabograms are supplemented by 27 additional ones. 14 of them have been deciphered, while 13 are still undeciphered. In Fig. 17.5, I suggest phonetic values for 8 undeciphered ones; see also §17.3.3.10.

	ă	ĕ	ĭ	ŏ	ŭ	??
Ø	a_3/*ai au*					
dw-	**86* = $dwa^{??}$	*dwe*		*dwo*	vacat[1]	
h-	a_2					
h-/l-	**34* = $a_5^{??}$					
nw-	*nwa*	**83* = $nwe^{??}$			vacat[1]	
p_2-	**56* = $pa_2^{??}$		**22* = $pi_2^{??}$		pu_2	
pt-		*pte*[4]			vacat[3]	
r_2-	ra_2		vacat[2]	ro_2	vacat[3]	

r_3-	*ra_3/rai*					
sj-	**92 = sja*[??]					
tw-	**82 = twa*[??]	*twe*	**64 = twi*[??]	*two*	vacat[1]	
t_2-	*ta_2*					
w_2-				**79 =wo_2*[??]		
??						**18* **19* **47* **49*

Our own transliteration proposals (MELENA forthcoming), still not officially endorsed, for formerly untransliterated signs are followed by [??].

[1] These slots could be filled by *du*, *nu* and *tu* respectively and may be seen as structural gaps.

[2] This slot could be filled by *ri*; it may be seen as a structural gap.

[3] Should we assume a kind of dissimilation to account for these structural gaps (see below)?

[4] The apparent oddity of a sign for *pte* is easily explained with the assumption that when the script was borrowed the sign represented a /pye/ sequence (see below).

Fig. 17.5. The additional Linear B syllabary.

§17.2.4. *The Linear B logograms*

In addition to the syllabic signs, the Linear B scribes had at their disposal a rich set of other signs, of a distinct nature, which we call LOGOGRAMS. They are normally followed by numbers and/or metrical logograms (except in nodules, where they are alone, since as a rule one unit is intended). Records of artifacts, livestock, staples, etc. are only rarely indicated by words syllabically written; mostly the scribes use symbols, which stand for the commodity in question. Such symbols need not be representations of the objects themselves and clearly do not refer directly to ideas, events or concepts but rather to words of the Mycenaean language (as the monograms clearly show, see §17.3.5.2). Hence the term logogram is preferable to the widely used, but less accurate term, 'ideogram'.[30]

The logograms are conventionally transliterated with a three-letter abbreviation of the Latin name for the artifact or human being/animal represented

[30] A still useful theoretical study on Linear B terminology is BENNETT 1963. THOMPSON 2012 has recently made a strong case in defence of Linear B 'ideograms' and will be dealt with later on under the paragraphs concerning logograms (§17.3.5). On the misleading notion of 'ideogram', it would be not otiose, however, to remind the early *caveat* by BLOOMFIELD 1933, 285: 'the important thing about writing is precisely this, that the characters represent not features of the practical world ("ideas"), but features of the writers' language'.

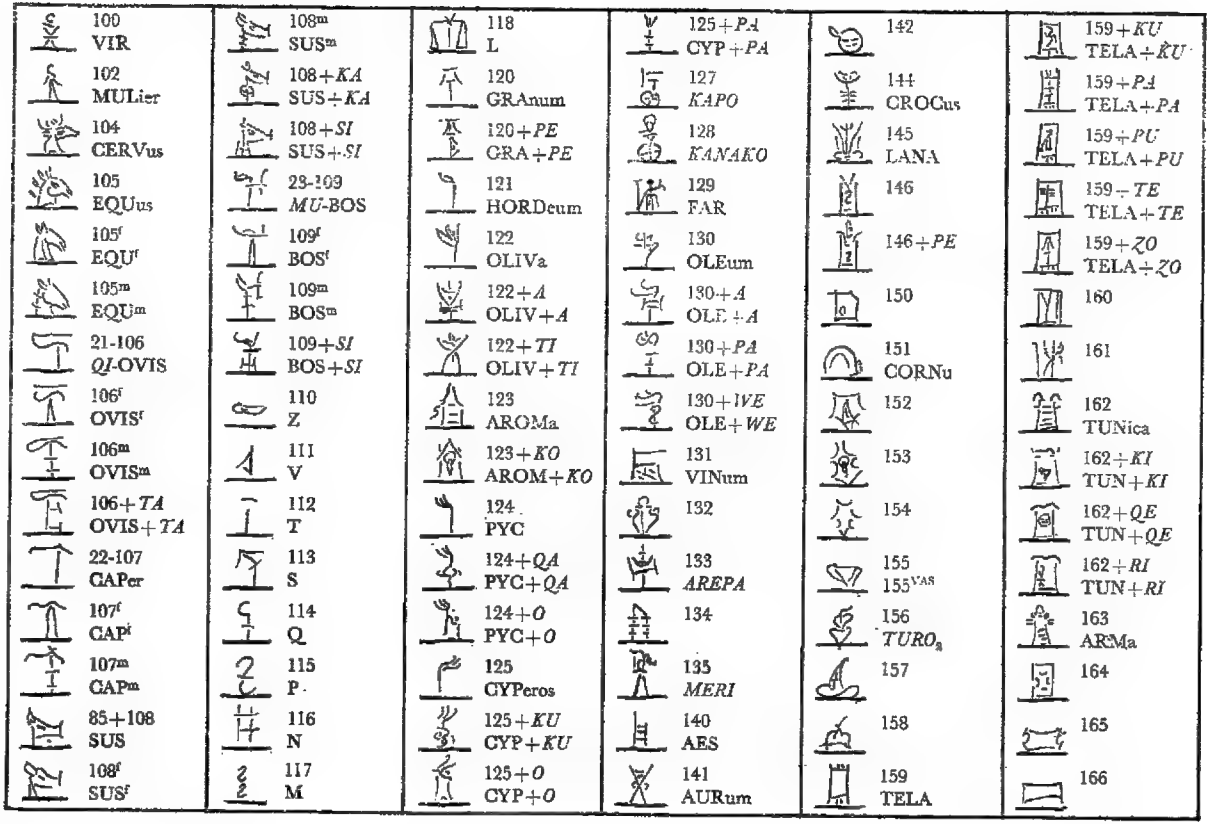


Fig. 17.6. The Linear B logograms
(transliteration of the Salamanca Convention) — to be continued

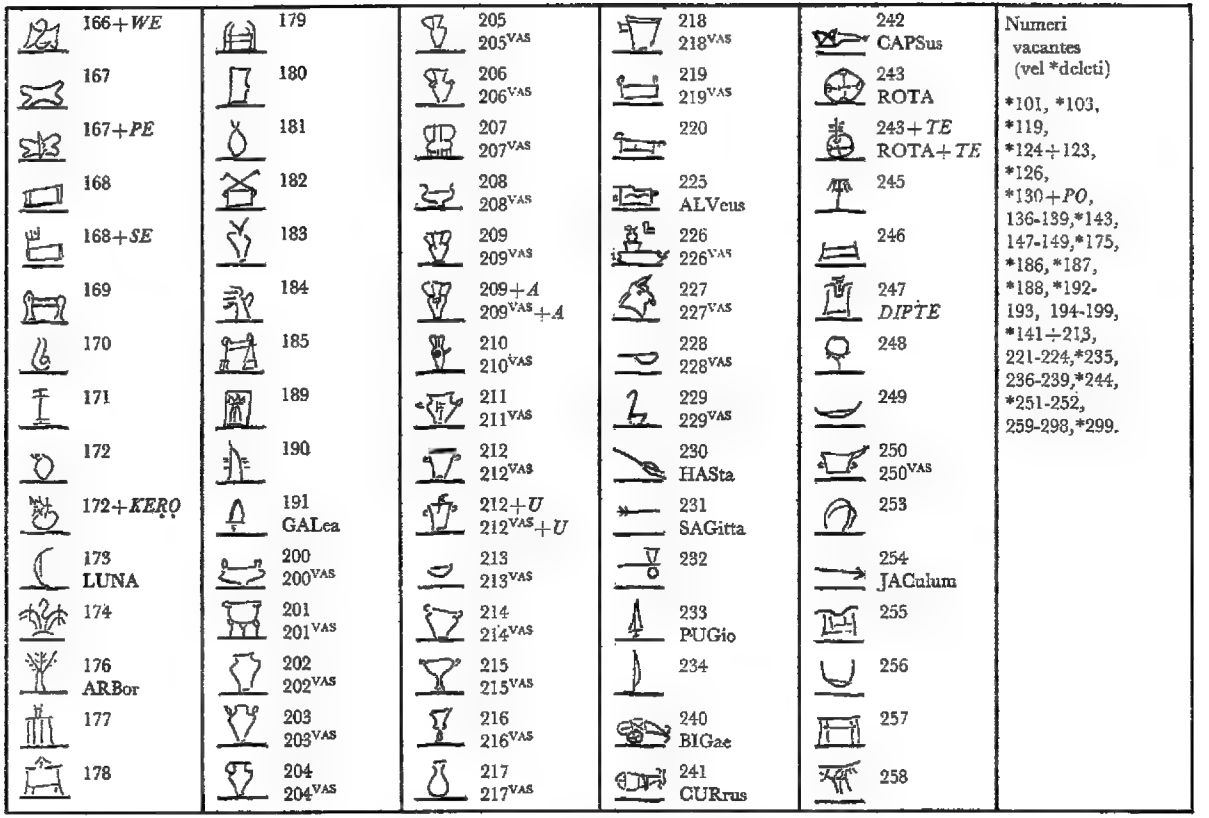


Fig. 17.7. The Linear B logograms
(transliteration of the Salamanca Convention) — continuation

(e.g. CUR for CUR*rus* 'chariot', VIR for 'man'); Latin was first used since an alph. Gr. word could have been wrongly taken as standing for the relevant Mycenaean word. The transliteration is usually written in SMALL CAPITAL LETTERS, although capitals are also used. All logograms are assigned a three-digit conventional number (starting with 100); the logograms whose meaning has not yet been officially identified are indicated by their conventional number in italics, preceded by an asterisk (*) (e.g. **146*).

The Mycenaean logograms will be considered in depth in Section §17.3.5. The symbols for numbers (signs for 1, 10, 100, 1000 and 10,000), measures (signs for different weights or dry and liquid volumes) are, strictly speaking, logograms as well and will be discussed in detail in §17.3.5.5.8-9. Special marks (including a word divider) will be also discussed below §17.3.5.5.10.

The official rendering of the logograms is reflected in the Fig. 17.6 and 17.7, which reproduce a slightly amended version of the Salamanca Convention (the drawing of **189* has been corrected), to which changes adopted in the later Colloquia should be added (see Fig. 17.8).

Transliterations officially adopted in the Mycenaean Colloquia
Gif Colloquium 1956 (1st) Proposal for a unique transliteration of logograms in Latin (M.S. Ruipérez)
Wingspread Colloquium 1961 (3rd), 11-14, table in 258-259 • Adoption and extension of the numeration suggested by M. Ventris (*Minos* 4, 1956, tables I-III); retention of the transliteration in italic capitals both of the syllabograms functioning as logograms (e.g. **30 NI*) and of the monograms (e.g. **133 AREPA*); adoption of a standard transliteration in Latin for logograms, printed in Roman small capitals (e.g. **101* VIR) and abbreviated if desired; adoption of a standard, conventional rendering of the measures with a single Roman letter in small capitals (e.g. **112* as T, **111* as V); adoption of marks which indicate the sex of animals with a superscript minuscule ^{m} for male and ^{f} for female; the graphic additions to logograms are written with their standard notation after the + sign (e.g. **108+SI* as SUS+*SI*) • Transliterations: **153* as PEL*lis*, **175* as FIC*us*, **201* as TRI*pus*, **206* as HYD*ria*, **208* as PAT*era*, **209* as AMPH*ora*, **212* as SIT*ula*, **213* as LANX, **215* as CAL*ix*, **228* as LIG*ula* (these transliterations were not subsequently kept in the Salamanca Convention, but some of them are re-introduced in § 17.3.3.5.6)
Cambridge Colloquium 1965 (4th), 7 Logograms, when transliterated as numbers, 'are to be printed in a distinctive type (i.e. italic or cursive when the syllabic text is Roman, and vice versa)'. The use of an asterisk is recommended as an additional indication of the presence of a logogram. It was also recommended the use of a comma to indicate the word divider. Further decisions were postponed until the next Colloquium

Salamanca Colloquium 1970 (5th), xvi

- New transliterations: ARBor, ARMa, BIGae, CROCus, CURrus, *DIPTE*, FAR<*ina*>,[1] JACulum, LANA, PUGio, PYC, Q, TELA, TUNica
- Rules: 'Adjuncts' in lower case italic type
- The syllabograms ligatured to logograms are not transliterated if the logogram does not appear elsewhere without the syllabogram or with a different syllabogram; e.g. **146* and not **146+WE*
- Improvised logograms ligatured with another logogram are not included in the list
- Logograms representing vases are transliterated uniformly with their numerical transliteration followed by ^{VAS} and when the same logograms occur several times in the same line of text, they are to be distinguished by superscript $^{\alpha}$, $^{\beta}$, $^{\gamma}$, ...

Neuchâtel Colloquium 1975 (6th), 15

- Reintroduction at least *pro tempore* of **244* (KN 7510) and **251* (PY 1418)
- Transliteration of **123*+**124* as AROM+PYC, **155*^{VAS}*+DI*, **210*^{VAS}, **210*^{VAS}*+KA*, **221*^{VAS}, **222*^{VAS} and **236*
- Proposal to assign specific numbers to the elements of the complex logogram **226*^{VAS} (KN K 93) as **301*^{VAS}, **302*^{VAS}, **303*^{VAS}, <**304*^{VAS}>, **305*^{VAS}

Austin Colloquium 2000 (11th), forthcoming

Creation of the transliteration GUP (reverse of PUG, **233*), for a different form of weapon recorded on the Ra tablets of Knossos; unification of the logograms hitherto transliterated as **134* and **190* under the sole transliteration **190*; unification of the transliterations CYP and PYC used for the same commodity 'cyperus' under the sole transliteration CYP

Paris Colloquium 2011 (13th), 582

Creation of the transliteration **141bis* for a different form of formerly AUR recorded on the Tn tablets of Pylos

Fig. 17.8. Logograms' transliterations officially adopted in the Mycenaean Colloquia

§17.2.5. *The Linear B spelling rules*

In a preliminary fashion we shall list and exemplify here a series of practical rules of the Linear B script. A detailed analysis of the subject will be attempted later on, when we shall review the whole evidence (see §17.3.4).

The length of VOWELS is never indicated:

ā/ă ***a-ra-ka-te-ja*** /ālakateⁱjai/ 'distaff-women' and ***a-ro-u-ra*** presumably acc. /ărourāns/ 'ploughlands'; ***pa-si*** /pʰāsi/ 'says' and ***pa-ka-na*** /pʰăsgană/ 'daggers';

[31] Wrongly omitted when I made the tables for the Salamanca Convention: 'flour' was therefore intended.

ĕ/ĕ *e-ra* /Hērāi/ GN and *e-ma-a*$_2$ dat. /Hĕrmāhāi/ GN; ***te-o-jo*** /t^{h}ĕhoi^{j}ŏ/ 'of the god' and ***te-qa-i*** /T^{h}ēg^{w}āhi/ 'at Thebes';

ī/ĭ ***ri-ta*** /līnă/ 'of linen' and ***ri-no*** /lĭnon/ 'flax'; ***wi-pi-no-o*** /Wīp^{h}inohos/ MN and ***-wi-de*** /-wĭde/ 'saw';

ō/ŏ ***po-ro*** /pōlos/ 'foal' and ***po-ri-wa*** /pŏliwa/ 'grey'; ***o-ku*** /ōkus/ MN and ***o-no*** /ŏnoi/ 'asses';

ū/ŭ ***tu-ma-i-ta*** /T^{h}ūmaitās/ MN and ***tu-ka-te*** /t^{h}ŭgătēr/ 'daughter'; *-o-pu*$_2$*-ru* /°op^{h}rūs/ 'brow' and ***e-ru-ta-ra*** /erŭt^{h}rā/ 'red'.

The rules for the writing of DIPHTHONGS differ according to their type. Their first element is always written, while their second one is not always written, but only sometimes.

The *i*-element of *i*-diphthongs is generally omitted in writing (exceptions will be examined later on). Instances of the short *i*-diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, and *ui*: *e-ra-wo* /**e**l**ai**won/ 'olive oil', *e-ke* /hek^{h}**ei**/ 'has', *re-qo-me-no* /leik^{w}omen**oi**/ 'left', *-u-jo* /**hui**^{j}os/ 'son'. There are in addition special signs for /ai/ (*a*$_3$*-ta-ro* /**Ai**t^{h}alos/ MN) and /lai, rai/ (*e-ra*$_3$*-wo* /**e**l**ai**won/ 'olive oil', *ku-te-ra*$_3$ /Kut^{h}**ērai**/ 'women from K.'). In our view **34* also represents /^{x}ai/ **34-ke-u* if /^{x}**Ai**gēus/; see below. Real instances of the long diphthongs *āi, ēi, ōi, ūi* are difficult to find, since they depend on whether Osthoff's Law is pre- or post-Mycenaean.[32] There are nevertheless clearer examples in word-final position: datives *po-ti-ni-ja* /potni^{j}**āi**/ 'lady', *da-mo* /dāmō**i**/[33] 'people' and the verb *e-ke-qe* if it is a subjunctive /hek^{h}**ēi** k^{w}en/ 'has'.

By contrast the *u*-element of *u*-diphthongs is normally written with a *-u-* sign (exceptions will be examined later on). Instances of the short *u*-diphthongs *au*, *eu*, *ou*: *na-u-do-mo* /**nau**domoi/ 'ship builders', *re-u-ko* /**leu**kos/ 'white', *a-ro-u-ra* /**arour**āns/ 'ploughlands'. There is also a special sign for /au/ *au-to-te-qa-jo* /**Au**tot^{h}ēg^{w}ai^{j}os/ MN. For the long diphthongs *āu, ēu, ōu*, we may have a clear instance in the locative case ending of the *u*-stem: *e-u-te-re-u* /Eutrē**u**/ 'at E.'.

When an /i/ or /u/ vowel is followed by another vowel, this vowel is mostly spelt with signs of the *j*- or *w*-series as in *i-je-ro* /hi^{j}eros/ 'sacred' or *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'aromatic substance'. The same presumably happened with vowels

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[32] Osthoff's Law states that PIE long vowels become short in Greek when followed by a tautosyllabic resonant followed by another consonant. This levelling of the vocalic opposition long/short occurred in proto-historic times, but it is not certain what triggered it (perhaps the rising of the circumflex tone, cf. KORTLANDT 1986). The last discussion points to place the operation of the Osthoff's Law after the lenition of **-s-* to *-h-* and the compensatory lengthening **-VhR-* to **-V̄R-* (NASSIVERA 2000, esp. 67, although not all long vowels were due to the loss of a laryngeal: for instance, most people now believe that the sigmatic aorist had a lengthened grade *per se*). We will endorse the view of a post-Mycenaean date for the Osthoff's Law.

[33] A locative is also possible, i.e. /dāmoi/, as well as an abl., i.e. /dāmō/, when governed by *pa-ro* 'from', but in this case we follow the *communis opinio*.

which followed *i-* or *u*-diphthongs, even if the second element of the *i*-diphthong was not written: cf. *te-o-jo* /t^{h}ehoi^{j}o/ 'of the god', alph. Gr. θεοῖο. From the point of view of writing we speak of *-j-* and *-w-* as GRAPHIC GLIDES.[34]

The absence of graphic glides, as a rule, denotes the presence of aspiration, but the details will be discussed later on.

There are no signs for writing CONSONANTS by themselves (without a following vowel). Instead, for writing a consonant in a consonantal cluster, a sign with a 'dummy' or 'empty' vowel can be used e.g. *ta-ra* for /tra/. This is common practice in syllabic scripts and may have a phonetic basis in a slowed down style of syllabification, which may lead to the rise of epenthetic vowels. The writing of consonantal clusters will be discussed in detail later on, see §17.3.4.2.4-9.

The word-final consonants permitted in Classical Greek (*-r*, *-n*, *-s* and [only in proclitics] *-k*) are not written in Mycenaean: *pi-ri-je-te* /pri^{j}ētēr/ 'sawyer', *ki-to* /k^{h}itō**n**/ or /kit^{h}ō**n**/ 'tunic', *qa-si-re-u* /g^{w}asilēus/ 'foreman', although there may be attempts to start noting them. In addition, the word-final cluster *-ns*, which presumably is still preserved in Mycenaean, is not written: *a-ro-u-ra* /arourā**ns**/ 'ploughlands' (acc. plur.). However, a full study of final consonants is linked to the question of whether final stops had already been eliminated in Mycenaean: for instance, should we read *me-ri* 'honey' as /melit/ with the final *-t* preserved as in Hittite (nom. *mi-li-it* /milit/) or /meli/ as in first millennium Greek μέλι? An answer could be based on a systematic approach to the syllable structure as revealed by the characteristics of the orthography, but this cannot be done here. In our transcriptions, we shall adhere to the *communis opinio*, which considers that final stops were probably lost in Mycenaean times.[35]

There is no distinction between simple or double (geminate) consonants, as an obvious consequence of the absence of signs for consonants in the syllable coda. So, gemination of consonants is never written:

*po-**pi*** /popp^{h}i/ 'with feet'; *e-**ra**-pe-me-na* /errapmenā/ 'sewn', *-o-pe-**ro**-si* /-op^{h}ellonsi/ 'they are owing'. However, the gemination of liquids may sometimes be indicated by special signs for earlier yodized clusters: *a-ke-**ra$_2$**-te* /agerrantes/ 'gathering'; *tu-**ro$_2$*** /tūrro-/ 'cheese'.

Similar specialized signs for the nasals are not attested to date: *me-**no*** /mēnnos/ 'of the month'. The same is true of the sibilants; *-da-**sa**-to* /-dassato/ 'apportioned', but *pa-**sa*** /pansa/ fem. 'all'; *do-**se*** /dōsei/ 'will give', and *ku-pa-ri-**se**-ja* /kuparissei^{j}a/ 'of

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[34] For this question, we wish to remain at the graphic level and not become entangled in the problem of the phonetic nature of the glide as either a 'son de transition' or a subphonemic feature.

[35] Arguments in favour of a post-Mycenaean date for the loss of final stops already in RUIPÉREZ 1972, 148-150, RUIPÉREZ - VARA 1973, and more recently in GARRETT 2006, 140f.

cypress-wood' (κυπάριττος may merely be a secondary hyper-Boeotism); ***si-to*** /sītos/ 'corn', and *pi-we-ri-**si*** /Pīwerissi/ WN 'for the P.'; *-**do-so-si*** /-dōsonsi/ 'they will give', but *to-**so*** prob. /tosson/ 'so much'; ***su-qo-ta*** /sug^{w}ōtās/ 'swineherd' (no instance of /ssu/).

In general there is no graphic distinction between voiceless, voiced and aspirated stops, but the dentals have a special set of signs for voiced stops and there are other exceptions:

/p, p^{h}/ ***pa-si*** /pansi/ 'to all…', ***pa-i-to*** /P^{h}aistos/ 'Phaestos';
pe-ma /sperma/ 'seed', ***pe-re*** /p^{h}erei/ 'carries, bears';
pi-ri-je-te /pri^{j}ētēr/ 'sawyer', ***pi-ro-pa-ta-ra*** /P^{h}ilopatrā/ WN;
po-me /poimēn/ 'shepherd', ***po-ni-ke*** /p^{h}oinikei/ 'with a palm-tree';
*a-**pu*** /apu/ 'from', ***pu-te*** /p^{h}utēr/ 'planter' (but also plur. ***pu$_2$-te-re*** /p^{h}utēres/);
There are no sure examples of /b/.

/k, k^{h}, g/ ***ka-zo-e*** /kaʃohes/ 'worse', ***ka-ko*** /k^{h}alkos/ 'bronze', ***ka-ra-u-ko*** /Glaukos/ MN;
ke-ra- /keras-/ 'horn (object)', ***ke-ra*** /kerāi/ dat. 'horn (material)', *e-**ke*** /hek^{h}ei/ 'has', ***ke-ro-si-ja*** /geronsi^{j}a/ 'council of Elders';
ki-ti-ta /ktitās/ 'settler', ***ki-to*** /k^{h}itōn/ 'tunic' (unless it is /kit^{h}ōn/), ***a$_3$-ki-a$_2$-ri-jo*** /aigihali^{j}os/ 'coastal';
ko-to-na /ktoinā/ 'plot', ***ko-ro*** /K^{h}oiros/ MN, *a-**ko-ra*** /agorā/ 'gathering';
ku-pi-ri-jo /Kupri^{j}os/ MN, ***ku-ru-so-jo*** /k^{h}rūsoi^{j}o/ 'of gold', *a-**ku-ro*** /argurōi/ dat. 'silver';

/k^{w}, k^{wh}, g^{w}/ *to-ro-**qa*** /trok^{w}ā/ 'torsion', *a-no-**qa-si-ja*** /anork^{wh}asi^{j}ās/ 'of murder' (but see § 17.3.2.1.1.A *s.v.* *$g^{wh}en$-), *po-**qa*** /p^{h}org^{w}ā/ 'meal';
qe-to-ro- /k^{w}etro°/ 'four-', ***-qe-mo*** /°k^{wh}ermos/ '-heat' in MN, ***qe-qi-no-to*** instr. /{{g^{w}e}}g^{w}īnōtō/ 'carved' (adjective created beside *qe-qi-no-me-no*, TUCKER 1990, 304) or perfect 3rd sing. /g^{w}eg^{w}īnōtoi/ 'is carved'?;
***qi**-si-pe-e* /k^{w}sip^{h}ehe/ 'two swords', (no instance of a sequence /k^{wh}i/), *qe-**qi**-no-to* instr. /{{g^{w}e}}g^{w}īnōtō/ 'carved' or perfect 3rd sing. /g^{w}eg^{w}īnōtoi/ 'is carved'?;
*e-**qo**-te* /hek^{w}ontes/ 'announcing', ***-qo**-i-ta* /°k^{wh}oitās/ '-visitor' in MN, ***qo**-u-* /g^{w}ou°/ 'cow-';

/t, t^{h}/ ***ta**-ra-si-ja* /tala(n)si^{j}ā/ 'amount', ***ta**-ra-nu* /t^{h}rānus/ 'foot-stool';
te-ko-to-ne /tektones/ 'carpenters', ***te-ke*** /t^{h}ēke/ 'designated, put';
ti-ri-po /tripos/ 'three-legged cauldron', ***ka-ti*** /kāt^{h}is/ 'pitcher';
*du-ru-**to**-mo* /drutomoi/ 'wood-cutters', ***to**-ko-do-mo* /t^{h}oik^{h}odomoi/ 'builders';
tu-ro$_2$ /tūrro-/ 'cheese', ***tu-ka-te*** /t^{h}ugatēr/ 'daughter';

but /d/ ***da-mo*** /dāmos/ 'the community';
de-so-mo /desmos/ 'bond';
di-do-si /didonsi/ 'they are giving';
do-so-mo /dosmos/ 'contribution';
du-ru-to-mo /drutomoi/ 'wood-cutters'.

Although ASPIRATION (/h/) is phonemic in Mycenaean, it is not systematically noted. Nevertheless, when the following vowel is /a/, a special sign can be used: ***a$_2$-te-ro*** /hateron/ 'the other (year)', *pa-we-**a$_2$*** /p^{h}arweha/ 'cloths'. Such

a practice seems limited to this vowel, and no sign for aspiration plus another vowel has been identified to date.

As we have seen, the Linear B basic syllabary has only signs of the V or CV type which indicate open syllables, but Greek has more complex syllables of the VC(C) or CCV or (C)(C)VC(C) type. In the absence of purely consonantal signs it is difficult to write WORD-FINAL CONSONANTS and CLUSTERS of more than one consonant. To solve the problem Linear B adopts a series of conventions, which clearly had to be learned by the scribes. For a full description and analysis see below §17.3.4; here we provide only a very sketchy account.

We already mentioned that in word final position /r, n, s/ are not written. Of two final consonants the first may, but need not, be written with a 'dummy' vowel: *wa-na-ka* /wanaks/ 'king'.

Internally /l, r, m, n/ are not written before stop: *pa-te* /pantes/ 'all' (nom. plur.); *a-to-* /arto-/ 'bread', etc. Similarly /r, l/ may not be written before nasals and /w/: *a-mo* /armo/ 'wheel'; *ko-wa* /korwā/ 'girl'.

Initial clusters of two stops or a stop followed by /l, r, m, n/ tend to be represented with the help of a 'dummy' vowel, which copies the vowel of the syllable to which they belong (*ko-to-na* /ktoinā/ 'plot'; *pe-te-re-wa* /ptelewās/ 'of elm-wood'; *ti-ri-po* /tripos/ 'tripod'); if internal, these clusters also tend to be represented with a 'dummy' vowel which copies the vowel of the following syllable: *e-ko-to* /Hektōr/ MN; *a-di-ri-ja-pi* /andriān(t)-p^{h}i/ 'with man figures'; *de-ki-si-wo* /Deksiwos/ MN. The *-mn-* clusters are indicated in the same way: *a-mi-ni-so* /Amnisos/ PN.

The most complex set of rules concerns the sequences of /s/ and consonant. Initially and internally /s/ is normally not written before stop (*pe-ma* /sperma/ 'seed'; *wa-tu* /wastu/ 'city'), but is written with a 'dummy' vowel before *-m-* or *-w-*: *do-so-mo* /dosmos/ 'contribution'; *wi-so-wo-* /wiswo-/ 'equal'. It is also difficult to give simple rules for clusters with /w/, where we find some oscillations: *wi-ri-ni-jo* /wrīni^{j}ō/ 'made of leather'; *ko-wa* /korwā/ 'girl'; *ke-se-ni-wi-jo* /ksenwi^{j}on/, *ke-se-ne-wi-ja* or *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* /ksenwi^{j}a/ 'for guests'.

There is a GRAPHIC NEUTRALIZATION of the two liquids and consequently no graphic distinction between /r/ and /l/. Therefore, the syllabograms **60* (, Linear A ; CS *la*), **27* (, Linear A), **53* (Linear A), **02* (, Linear A ; CS *lo*), and **26* (, Linear A) are conventionally transliterated as *ra re ri ro ru* (to which ra_2 ro_2 *rai* of the additional syllabary [§17.3.3.3.1] may be added).

r/la ***ra-pte*** /raptēr/ 'stitcher' and ***ra-e-ja*** /lāhei^{j}a/ 'made of stone';
r/le ***e-re-mo*** /erēmos/ 'desert' and ***re-u-ko*** /leukos/ 'white';
r/li *wi-**ri**-no* /wrīnos/ 'hide' and ***ri**-no* /linon/ 'flax';

r/lo *a-ku-ro* /argurōi/ 'silver' and *a-ke-ro* if /angelos/ 'messenger';
r/lu *a-ra-ru-ja* /arāruiʲa/ 'fitted with' and *ru-ko-* /luko°/ 'wolf-'.

WORD-DIVISION is indicated either with a special arrangement of the signs (spacing, changes in size) or with a so-called word divider (a vertical stroke which in general is clearly distinguishable from the number 1), conventionally transliterated with a comma (,). Since enclitics and proclitics are written together with the preceding and following word respectively, the 'word' in Mycenaean writing can be defined as an 'accentual unit'. Deviations from the canonical usage will be discussed later on.

§17.3. THE LINEAR B SCRIPT: IN-DEPTH PICTURE

§17.3.1. *The syllabary: general description*

We should begin with the warning that the Linear B texts merely represent frozen snapshots of the use of the script, mostly at least two centuries after its creation. It is possible, however, to extract some historical information either from caches of records of an earlier date (for instance from the Petsas' House at Mycenae) or from a structural analysis of the values of the signs themselves. In other words the structure of the syllabary can give us a glimpse of its chronological and geographical development,[36] as argued in the discussion that follows. If we review the so-called additional signs and draw reasonable inferences from them, we may reconstruct an archetypal syllabary, i.e. the syllabary first used at the time of its creation. Needless to say, this involves a certain amount of speculation.

The Linear B syllabary, which consists of at least 87 signs, can readily be divided into a) a basic nucleus (a syllabary of 59 signs) necessary to represent the basic phonology of Mycenaean Greek and b) a complementary subsyllabary consisting of signs which were used only optionally (by some scribes and within some graphic traditions) to denote specific phonological features. The basic syllabary and the complementary subsyllabary had clearly different histories and were probably created at different times. The additional subsyllabary includes 27 signs, which do not form a complete system, but belong to open series, which were probably defective and never completed. A number of signs, between three and fourteen, depending on the optimism of individual scholars, still remains undeciphered (i.e. their exact phonetic rendering is not yet known). Their resistance to decipherment is due to the scanty evidence available and/or

[36] DUHOUX 1985, esp. 41-53.

to the fact that they appear mainly in personal names and place-names of non-Greek origin.

We shall deal here with the diachrony of both the formation of the Linear B script and the values assigned to its syllabograms, although a detailed study of many points involves a close examination of the Mycenaean language, which is the subject of another chapter. Similarly, the real pronunciation of the Mycenaean words when compared to their spelling also requires a study of the Mycenaean language. In our discussion we shall indicate within slants (//) the phonological substance which we assume underlies the spellings under scrutiny, but shall avoid getting too involved in detailed linguistic problems. Since Mycenologists have not reached a *communis opinio* on these matters, what follows is necessarily idiosyncratic. Our aim on this occasion, to reconstruct the prehistory of the script, calls for an analysis of numerous phonological developments and a review of all untransliterated syllabograms before we can justify our proposals for their decipherment and discuss the other proposals. The final objective is the reconstruction of the original structure of the Linear B syllabary. Occasionally we shall refer back to Linear A, though as long as the script is not deciphered all such observations are necessarily speculative. In general we are moving on very hypothetical ground.

Since most of the Mycenaean words are personal names and place-names, from which we extract the 'latent lexicon' not attested separately elsewhere, our transcriptions sometimes heavily depend on personal choice. In some instances other renderings are as plausible as the ones that we have chosen. Moreover, it is clear that the fewer the number of signs involved, the greater are the possibilities of different interpretations.

We have no room for a detailed discussion of all the series of syllabograms that constitute the basic Linear B syllabary (see above Fig. 17.4), but two of them deserve special attention, the *q*- and the *z*-series.

§17.3.2. *Two basic Linear B series:* q- *and* z-

§17.3.2.1. The *q*-series

The syllabograms **16 qa* (, Linear A), **78 qe* (, Linear A), **21 qi* (, Linear A) and **32 qo* (, not yet attested or identified in Linear A), were mostly used for rendering the obstruents which continued the Proto-Indo-European labiovelars and the vowel that followed. However, they also indicated sequences of the original homomorphemic clusters /gw, kw, g^hw/ and a vowel; finally they were also used to indicate consonants found in Pre-Greek languages.

§17.3.2.1.1. *The PIE labiovelars*

Proto-Indo-European had a whole series of labiovelar stops, which developed in various ways in the different Indo-European languages. In Greek the labiovelars were eliminated at an early date and merged with other sounds; depending on the environment and the dialect in which they occurred, they were either dissimilated to velars, or palatalized to apicals or develarized to labials or even turned into sibilants. In most environments (but not before or after /u/, see APPENDIX [§17.4], or when palatalized, see next paragraph §17.3.2.2) Mycenaean preserved them as a separate series: see the evidence for PIE roots with labiovelars collected e.g. by WATKINS 2000 and compare it with the Mycenaean forms using syllabograms of the *q*-series. Below we match reconstructed inherited roots with labiovelars with Mycenaean forms using signs of the *q*-series. Only a few very fragmentary forms have not been taken into account.

Some of the evidence is based on the identification of personal names and therefore should be treated with caution. Other data refer to interpretations which are far from certain. It would have been possible to limit our analysis to the lexical data of certain interpretation, but there is some virtue in a complete list which may serve as a maximum model for the labiovelar terms that could (even if need not) have an Indo-European origin. One of the results is that this makes it possible to distinguish terms which clearly are not Indo-European. In their turn these define another layer of Pre-Greek data, which, as we might have expected from the later Greek evidence, included sounds which either were labiovelar or were interpreted as labiovelars by the Greeks. In what follows the analysis distinguishes roots with (A) word-initial and (B) non-initial labiovelars.

The roots are listed in alphabetic order in the vocalic grades responsible for the attested Greek forms. The evidence includes first the Mycenaean items whose interpretation is certain and then the other items. Within each sub-section the order is again alphabetic.

A) PIE roots with initial labiovelar are found in the following Mycenaean words:

VOICED

***g*^{w}*eh*$_2$-/**g*^{w}*em-/**g*^{w}*ew-* **g*^{w}*oh*$_2$-/**g*^{w}*om-/**g*^{w}*ow-* **g*^{w}*h*$_2$-/**g*^{w}*m̥-/**g*^{w}*w̥-*[37]

'to come, go', cf. alph. Gr. βαίνω, ἔβην, βατός. The alternative *-o-* and *-a-* forms of the root in the zero grade may reflect different treatments of vocalic **m̥*

[37] Following LAMBERTERIE 1990, 926-937, we put together the two different roots appearing in *IEW* 463f., 464f. and *LIV* 205, 209f.: **g*^{u}*eh*$_2$- vs **g*^{u}*em-*, although we do not endorse his view that such a suppletivism in Greek is already of PIE date.

or different roots with *h_2 > /a/ and *$m̥$ > /o/. We list first the *-a-* forms and then the *-o-* forms.

• With /a/: see *pe-qa-to*, part of a chariot in KN Sd 4402.a+ (Hand 128), /pegg^{w}aton/ < */ped-g^{w}a-ton/ 'foot board'. If my reading *e-qa-do* in TH Fq 207.3 (Hand 307) is correct, it could be a gen. plur. /em-g^{w}adōn/, 'of boots' (*scil.* 'pairs'), cf. alph. Gr. ἐμβάδες 'slippers' Hdt. I.195+, although there is no contextual support.

A number of MNs may belong here: *a-qa-to* KN As(2) 1516.16 (Hand 101), C(4) 912.4 (Hand 111)?/A-g^{w}a-tos/, but see also *sub* *$g^{wh}en$-; *po-ro-qa-ta-jo* PY Cn 655.15 (Hand 1),?/Prog^{w}ataⁱos/; *qa-ti-ja* KN As(2) 1519.4 (Hand 101), Fh 355 (Hand 141), /G^{w}atiʲās/ cf. Βατιάς *LGPN* I, 100, rather than an abbreviated form of a compound of /G^{w}ati°/; *qa-di-ja* KN C(4) 911.6 (Hand 111),?/G^{w}adiʲās/ may have been built on a non-attested adverb */g^{w}a-don/, cf. Hom. βάδην, ἐμβαδόν (*Études*, 140, 163). A *-qa-ta* MN may go back to *-$g^{w}h_2$-*tās*: *po-no-qa-ta* KN Da 1341.b (Hand 117), PY Fn 324.15 (Class iii),?/Pono-g^{w}atās/, but see also *sub* *$k^{w}eh_2$-.

• With /o/: *a-pi-qo-to* PY Ta 642.3+ (Hand 2) description of tables and hearth, unclear meaning, /amp^{h}i-g^{w}otos/ < */amp^{h}i-g^{w}m̥tos/, ἀμφίβατος (see also *sub* *$g^{wh}ey[h_x]$-).

The numerous *-qo-ta* compounds (with their derivatives) could match the alph. Gr. -βάτης, but in almost all instances other interpretations are possible (-βώτης/-βότης, -ποίτης, -πόλτης, -φοίτης, -φόντης: Leukart 1994, 48), see below. Cf. MN *a-na-qo-ta* KN B 798.4 (Hand 107) /Anag^{w}otās/ < /Anag^{w}m̥tās/, cf. ἀναβαίνω; MN *a-pi-qo-ta* KN C(2) 915.B+ (Hand 112); PY Jn 431.6 (Hand 2); TH Oq 434.11; gen. *a-pi-qo-ta-o* PY An 261.13+ (Hand 43), *v*.5 (Hand 1), Un 616*v*.2 (Hand 1) /Amp^{h}ig^{w}otās/ < */Amp^{h}ig^{w}m̥tās/, cf. ἀμφιβαίνω and the shortened MN Ἀμφίων *LGPN* I, 35; II, 28, III.A, 35, III.B, 32, IV, 23; MN *e-u-ru-qo-ta* KN V(2) 147.2 (Hand 124-B) /Eurug^{w}otās/ < */Eurug^{w}m̥tās/, cf. Εὐρυβάτης *LGPN* I, 183, III.A, 174 (but see *sub* *$g^{w}eh_3$-); MN *pe-ri-qo-ta* KN Uf(3) 1022.b (Hand 123); PY Jn 693.7 (Hand 2); gen. *pe-ri-qo-ta-o* KN Dq(3) 42.a+ (Hand 217) /Perig^{w}otās/ < */Perig^{w}m̥tās/, cf. περιβαίνω; derivative *pe-ri-qo-te-jo* KN Da 1172.B+ (Hand 117); MN *wi-jo-qo-ta* KN Db 1305.B (Hand 117), Dq(3) 7852.a (Hand 217?); gen. *wi-jo-qo-ta-o* KN Dq(3) 1026.a (Hand 217), Ld(1) 598.1 (Hand 116), perhaps /Wiʲog^{w}otās/ < */Wiʲog^{w}m̥tās/, cf. (?) the abbreviated name Ἰόβας *LGPN* II, 235, III.B 207. The feminine derivative *du-qo-te-ja* TH Of 27.2 (Hand 303) points to a MN **du-qo-ta*, i.e. perhaps /Dusg^{w}otās/ < */Dusg^{w}m̥tās/. Unclear, but perhaps to be included here: MN *a-qo-ta* KN L 588.2; cf. TH Xp 189.2 (Hand 315); MN *ḍạ-qo-ta* PY An 661.10 (Hand 1) (or *ṛọ-qo-ta*); MN *kẹ-*[]*-qo-ta* PY Jn 320.5 (Hand 2) if it is read *kẹ-qo-ta* (but see *sub* *$g^{wh}en$-); MN *pe-qo-ta* PY En 659.5 (Hand 1); MN *wo-ro-qo-ta*[PY Qa 1305 (Hand 33).

The MN *po-ru-qo-to* KN Da 1137.b (Hand 117); PY An 128.2 (Hand 42) may be /Polug^{w}otos/ < */Polug^{w}m̥tos/, cf. the abbreviated MN Πόλυβος *LGPN* I, 377; III.A, 368; for the type cf. Εὐρύβατος *LGPN* I, 183, III.A, 174, but other interpretations are not excluded.

$g^{w}eh_2b^{h}$-/*$g^{w}h_2b^{h}$-

'to dip, sink' (*IEW* 465f., *LIV* 205f.). The suffixed zero-grade form *$g^{w}h_2b^{h}$-*ye/o*- > βάπτειν. Cf. the derivative? MN *qạ-pạ-jo*[KN X 7551 /G^{w}ap^{h}aiʲos/?

***g*^{w}*eh*$_{3}$-/*g*^{w}*oh*$_{3}$-/*g*^{w}*h*$_{3}$-**

'to feed' (*IEW* 482-83 takes it as a secondary derivative of the **g*^{w}*ow-* root of alph. Gr. βοῦς, absent in *LIV*; alph. Gr. βόσκω). Clearly found with the agent suffix in compounds like *su-qo-ta* PY Ea 822 (Hand 43), dat.; gen. *su-qo-ta-o* PY Ea 59.3+ (Hand 43) /sug^{w}ŏtās/ 'swineherd', Hom. συβώτης; dat. *qo-u-qo-ta* KN L(4) 480.b (Hand 208); gen. *qo-qo-ta-o* PY Ea 270+ (Hand 43) /g^{w}ōug^{w}ŏtās/ cowman', cf. Pi. *I.* 6.32 βουβότας. Personal names in *-qo-ta* may be read as /°g^{w}ŏtās/ but other interpretations are possible (/°g^{wh}ontās/, /°k^{w}oitās/, etc., see below and above *sub* **g*^{w}*eh*$_{2}$-): MN *e-u-ru-qo-ta* KN V(2) 147.2 (Hand 124-B)?/Eurug^{w}ŏtās/ cf. Εὐρυβώτας *LGPN* I, 183 (Crete), III.B, 165;[38] MN *pa-qo-ta* PY Jn 658.4 (Hand 21), 725.2 (Hand 2) /Pang^{w}ŏtās/, cf. Thess. Παμβουταῖος *IG* IX.2, 234,111, Παμβούτας *LGPN* III.B, 331; derivative MN *pa-qo-si-jo* KN B(1) 988.a, Dq(1) 441.B (Hand 121); PY Jn 310.8+ (Hand 2); gen. *pa-qo-si-jo-jo* PY Jn 310.12 (Hand 2), Mn 1412.2 (Hand 14) /Pang^{w}ŏsi^{j}os/. Perhaps related: MN *qo-te-wo* gen. PY Aq 218.16 (Hand 21). MN *qo-zo* MY Oe 118.1 (Hand 51) could be read /G^{w}oskos/ if the back formation alph. Gr. βοσκός is earlier than normally assumed (first as hypocoristic in names?). See the following.

***g*^{w}*eh*$_{3}$*u-**

'bull, cow, ox' (*IEW* 482; **g*^{w}*ów-* in *NIL* 189f.), alph. Gr. βοῦς, proterodynamic *u*-stem from the above root, cf. Nassivera 2000, 58. Acc. plur. *qo-o* PY Cn 3.2 (Hand 1) /g^{w}ōns/; dat. *qo-we* MY Fu 711*v*.4 /G^{w}ōwei/; derivative *qo-wi-ja* PY Tn 316*v*.3 (Hand 44) /G^{w}ōwi^{j}ā/; compounds *qo-u-ka-ra* PY Ta 711.2 (Hand 2) /g^{w}ōukrās/; *qo-u-ko-ro* PY An 18.9 (Hand 11), 830.10-13 (Hand 1), 852.1 (Hand 3), Nn 831.5 (Hand 1); TI Ef 2; gen. *qo-u-ko-ro-jo* PY Ea 781 (Hand 43) /g^{w}ōukolos/; dat. *qo-u-qo-ta* KN L(4) 480.b (Hand 208); gen. *qo-qo-ta-o* PY Ea 270+ (Hand 43) /g^{w}ōug^{w}ŏtās/; MN *qo-wa-ke-se-u* KN As(1) 602.4 (Hand 103) /G^{w}ōwaksēus/; *ta-ti-qo-we-u* PY An 724.8 (Hand 1); gen. *ta-ti-qo-we-wo* PY An 654.11 (Hand 1), /Tātig^{w}ōwēus/; MN *qo-wi-ro* PY Xn 1481.1 (Class ii) /G^{w}ōwilos/ diminutive, cf. Βουΐσκος *LGPN* III.B, 87.

***g*^{w}*elb*^{h}-**

'womb' (*IEW* 473), cf. δελφύς; suffixed *o*-grade form PN *qo-pi-ja* PY Na 329 (Hand 1), poss. /G^{w}olp^{h}i^{j}ā (k^{h}ōrā)/, cf. Δελφοί, Βελφοί, and the variant forms δολφός, Δολφοί, Βολφοί.

***g*^{w}*elh*$_{1}$-/*g*^{w}*l̥h*$_{1}$-**

'to throw' (*IEW* 471f., *LIV* 208), cf. alph. Gr. βάλλω. Possibly attested in *qe-re-ti-ri-jo* PY Vn 46.8 (Class ii), a derivative dual fem. /g^{w}lē-tr-i^{j}ō/ 'two ?poles?door hinges', from /g^{w}lē-tron/ cf. hapax Hom. ξυστὸν κολλητὸν βλήτροισι *Il.* 15.678; **g*^{w}*elh*$_{1}$-*mn̥h*$_{2}$-, perhaps in MN *qe-re-me-ne-u* /G^{w}elemnēus/?, cf. βέλεμνα (but see *sub* **k*^{w}*el-*). The second element of the MN *pi-ro-qo-r̥o*[?/P^{h}ilog^{w}olos/, PY Cn 254.8 (Hand 21), could (but needs not) belong here (see below *sub* **g*^{w}*erh*$_{3}$-).

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[38] Note that /g^{w}/ is not dissimilated after /u/ in this root in contrast to *qo-u-ko-ro* < */g^{w}ouk^{w}olos/ vs *a-pi-qo-ro* /amp^{h}ik^{w}olos/.

***g*^{w}*erh*$_{2}$-/*g*^{w}*r̥h*$_{2}$-**

'heavy' (*IEW* 476), cf. alph. Gr. βαρύς. Possibly in the suffixed form °*g*^{w}*rh*$_{2}$-*ih*$_{2}$-*n*- as second element of compound in the MN *pu*$_{2}$-*ke-qi-ri* PY Ta 711.1 (Hand 2); dat. *pu*$_{2}$-*ke-qi-ri-ne* TH Gp 119.1 (Hand 308); derivative *pu*$_{2}$-*ke-qi-ri-ne-ja* TH Of 27.3 (Hand 303); perhaps also in MN *qi-ri-ta-ko* PY Cn 655.11 (Hand 1) /G^{w}rīt^{h}ark^{h}os/, cf. Βριθαγόρᾱς, Βριθαγόρης, Βριθαγόρη *LGPN* IV, 75, or /G^{w}rīt^{h}ăkos/? García Ramón 2009.

***g*^{w}*erh*$_{3}$-/*g*^{w}*r̥h*$_{3}$-**

'to swallow' (*IEW* 474, *LIV* 211f., cf. alph. Gr. βιβρώσκω). Possibly in MN *mo-ro-qo-ro* PY Ea 439+ (Hand 43); gen. *mo-ro-qo-ro-jo* PY Ea 782+ (Hand 43) /Molog^{w}ros/, cf. μολοβρός and MN Μόλοβρος; more speculative MN *qo-ro-mu-ro* PY Na 841 (Class ii)?/G^{w}rōmulos/; compounds in *-qo-ro*?/°g^{w}oros/ MN *pi-ro-qo-ṛọ*[PY Cn 254.8 (Hand 21),?/P^{h}ilog^{w}oros/, and poss. MN *sa-ri-qo-ro* PY An 172.8 (Hand 1), Jn 845.2 (Hand 2), first member obscure, but see also *sub* ***g*^{w}*elh*$_{1}$-** above.

***g*^{w}*eyh*$_{3}$-/*g*^{w}*ih*$_{3}$-**

'to live', Klein 1988 (*IEW* 467ff., *g*^{w}*i̯eh*$_{3}$- in *LIV* 215f.); cf. alph. Gr. βίοτος, βίος, ζώω, etc. Evidence uncertain, but prob. an enlarged *g*^{w}*ih*$_{3}$-*n*- 'to endow with life' is attested in the verbal forms *qe-qi-no-me-na* PY Ta 713.2+ (Hand 2) instr. /g^{w}eg^{w}īnōmenā, -ais/ 'vivified, decorated'; *qe-qi-no-me-no* PY Va 482.a (Hand 42) /g^{w}eg^{w}īnōmenoi/; *qe-qi-no-to* PY Ta 642.2+ (Hand 2), García Ramón 1999b. To the same extended root may belong *qi-no*[MY Oe 131 (Hand 55) without context; *-qi-na* KN Ld(1) 584.1 (*o-pi-qi-na* 'chez Q.') (Hand 116); MN *qi-ne-u* TI Z 30; *qi-ni-te-we* KN D 1024.2, perhaps a sheep description.

The personal names ending in *-qi-jo* may be compounds in /-g^{w}i̯os/, alph. Gr. -βιος (< *g*^{w}*ih*$_{3}$-*os*), but other interpretations are possible: thus MN *a-so-qi-jo* KN B(5) 803.2 (Hand 104), and its derivative *a-so-qi-je-ja* PY Ad 689.a (Hand 23), could be related to the alph. Gr. river name Ἀσωπός, cf. Ἀσώπιος *LGPN* III.B, 78, IV, 57, Ἀσωπίων *LGPN* III.B, 78; MN *a*$_{2}$-*zo-qi-jo* PY Un 1193.4 (Class i) is obscure; MN *e-ri-qi-jo* PY Ea 480 (Hand 43) and WN *e-ri-qi-ja* PY Eb 1440.A (Hand 41), Ep 539.2 (Hand 1) (García Ramón 2012c) could be also derivatives of a PN **e-ri-qo*, cf. *a-ri-qo*; MN *e-ri-ta-qi-jo* KN As 604.1 (Hand 103) is obscure. The only clear form MN *wo-no-qi-*[*jo?* KN Xd 197 (Hand 124-R) is not complete and without context, cf. alph. Gr. Οἰνόβιος? *LGPN* III.B, 322.

The MNs *qi-ja-to* KN Db 1140.B (Hand 117) ?/G^{wh}i̯at^{h}os/, cf. Βίαθθος *LGPN* I, 101 and *qi-ja-zo* KN Dv 1500.b (Hand 117), Xe 5899.1 (Hand 103), ?/G^{w}i̯adzōn/ could also belong here, but are best interpreted as Pre-Greek (Hitchman 2006, 83).

qi-wo PN (or MN) TH Of 33.2 (Hand 303), cf. possible reading MN *qi-wọ*[KN B(5) 9288.2 (Hand 104), cannot be the *-wos* adjective widely attested in other IE languages (cf. Lat. *vivus*, *NIL* 185f., but present in Greek, cf. Klein 1988, 274, as *zo-wo*, *zo-wa* etc., see §17.3.2.2), but either the related form for tree resin, pitch from *g*^{w}*ih*$_{3}$-*wo*- or a further derivative, cf. Armenian *kiv* 'tree pitch, mastic' (Mallory – Adams 2006, 161, but from *g*^{w}*īu̯* in *IEW* 482).

ASPIRATE

***g*^{wh}*ed*^{h}-/**g*^{wh}*od*^{h}-**

'to ask, pray' (*IEW* 488, *LIV* 217), cf. alph. Gr. Θέστωρ, θέσσασθαι < aoristic **g*^{wh}*ed*^{h}-*s*-, πόθος < **g*^{wh}*od*^{h}-. The evidence is disputed since it consists of MNs only, often without alph. Gr. parallels. MN *qe-ta-wo* KN Dq(1) 447.B (Hand 121); PY Jn 310.2 (Hand 2) ?/K^{wh}et^{h}-āwōn/; MN *qe-ta-se-u* TH Of 30.2 (Hand 303) /K^{wh}et^{h}asēus/, shortened form of /K^{wh}et^{h}asānōr/ HEUBECK 1965, 145. Possibly built on the *o*-grade: MN *qo-ta-wo* PY An 39*v*.8 (Class iii), Na 522 (Hand 1), cf. also KN V 60.1a (Hand 124-B), ?/K^{wh}ot^{h}-āwōn/, cf. Hom. ποθή; MN]*qo-ta-ki-jo* PY Fn 324.17 (Class iii), possibly from **qo-ta-ko*, conceivably a compound of πόθος, ποθή and e.g. /°ark^{h}os/; MN *qo-te-ro* KN As(2) 1516.8 (Hand 101), Da 1495.B (Hand 117); PY Ae 108 (Hand 42), An 261.3 (Hand 43), could be built on πόθος, (?/K^{wh}ot^{h}eros/), but other interpretations are equally possible. WN *qo-ta* MY V 659.3 (Hand 61) perhaps /K^{wh}ot^{h}ā/ belongs here.

g*^{wh}*en-*/**g*^{wh}*on-*/**g*^{wh}*n-

'to strike, kill' (*IEW* 491ff., *LIV* 218f.), cf. alph. Gr. θείνω, φόνος, ἐπέ-φατο/ἔπεφνον. The evidence is reasonably certain but based largely on the second element (in the *o*-grade) of compound personal names (*-qo-no*, *-qo-ta*) and on the possible interpretation of the second element (in the zero grade) of a lexical compound (*a-no-qa-si-ja*).

1. *a-no-qa-si-ja* PY Ea 805 (Hand 43) /anork^{wh}asi̯ās/ gen.; interpretation uncertain but possibly 'man-murdering, sacrifice' < **anr-g*^{wh}*n̥t-iā-* (cf. *a-no-qo-ta* in 3. below). MN *a-qa-to* KN As(2) 1516.16 (Hand 101), C(4) 912.4 (Hand 111) could be interpreted as ?/A-g^{wh}n̥-tos/ 'Unbeatable', GARCÍA RAMÓN 2005, but see above *sub* **g*^{w}*em-*.

2. *-qo-no* compounds (alph. Gr. -φονος, cf. Δηίφονος, Τεισίφονος): MN *pe-re-qo-no* PY Jn 725.3 (Hand 2); gen. *pe-re-qo-no-jo* PY Ea 270 (Hand 43), Jn 605.10 (Hand 2), derivative *pe-re-qo-ni-jo* PY An 656.6 (Hand 1) ?/Pēlek^{wh}-onos/ (presumably from a dissimilated /K^{w}ēle-/; cf. *pe-re-qo-ta*/*qe-re-qo-ta* below, alph. Gr. Τήλεφος, Τηλεφόντης, KÖLLIGAN 2000-2001); MN *ra-wo-qo-no* KN B 798.7 (Hand 107), Mc 4462.A (Hand 132), X 9333 (*ra-wo-qo-nọ*[); gen. *ra-wo-qo-no-jo* KN Dl(1) 928.A+ (Hand 118), D 1650.a (Hand 118?) /Lāwok^{wh}onos/ (cf. *ra-wo-qo-ta* below, Hom. Λεωφόντης). Less clear: MN *do-qo-no* PY Cn 131.12 (Hand 1) ??/Dom-k^{wh}onōi/ or /Dos-k^{wh}onōi/; MN *pe-qo-no* KN B 798.6 (Hand 107).

3. *-qo-ta* compounds (alph. Gr. -φόντης, cf. Δαιφόντης, etc.). The Greek evidence speaks for /-k^{wh}ontās/ from the *o*-grade root, but /-k^{wh}otās/ from an inherited zero grade **-g*^{wh}*n̥-tās* with **n̥* > *o* would also be possible (cf. Hom. ἀρηῖ-φατος 'killed in battle' < **-g*^{wh}*n̥tos*). Of the numerous *-qo-ta* MNs only a few belong here with any certainty (for the others see above *sub* **g*^{w}*eh*$_2$-, **g*^{w}*eh*$_3$-, **g*^{wh}*ey[h*$_x$*]-*). Most probable are MN *a-no-qo-ta* KN Ak(2) 615.1 (Hand 108), Ap 618.2 (Hand 103), Da 1289.B (Hand 117), 1323.A (Hand 117) (*a-no-qo*[), Dq(1) 440.B (Hand 121), D 7334.a (*a-no-qo*[*-ta*); Vc(1) 173 (Hand 124-v), X 1051.a (*a-no-qo-ta*[); gen. *a-no-qo-ta-o* KN Dq(3) 45 (Hand 217), E 847.1 /Anork^{wh}ontās/, cf. Hom. ἀνδρειφόντης, Aesch. Ἀνδροφόντης, 'slayer of men'; MN *da-i-qo-ta* KN Da 1164.B (Hand 117) /Dāhik^{wh}ontās/, alph. Gr. Δηιφόντης 'killer in battle'; MN *po-ru-qo-ta* PY Cn 40.4 (Hand 21), 437.2

(Hand 1), Jn 845.2 (Hand 2), /Poluk^{wh}ontās/, cf. Πολυφόντᾱς *LGPN* III.A, but see also *sub* *$g^{wh}ey(h_x)$- above; MN *qe-]ṛẹ-qo-ta* PY Ep 613.10 (Hand 1); gen. *qe-re-qo-ta-o* PY En 659.1.2 (Hand 1); dissimilated MN *pe-re-qo-ta* KN Ce 50.1b (Hand 124-B); PY An 192.12 (Hand 22), Eb 159.A+ (Hand 41), En 659.5+ (Hand 1) /K^{w}ēlek^{wh}ontās/, cf. the abbreviated name Τήλεφος; MN *ra-wo-qo-ta* PY Jn 750.7 (Hand 2) /Lāwok^{wh}ontās/, cf. Λεωφοντίδης *LGPN* I, 288. More uncertain is the interpretation of the following MNs (references are not repeated if they were provided earlier): MN *a-e-ri-qo-ta* PY An 192.7 (Hand 22), 209.6+ (Hand 1), Aq 218.5 (Hand 21) /Aherik^{wh}ontās/ 'who slays with a sword' (HAJNAL 1992), though it could be a compound of /-g^{wh}oitās/ (see *sub* *$g^{wh}ey[h_x]$-); abbreviated names *a-e-ri-qo* PY An 192.2 (Hand 22), Jn 431.13 (Hand 2); TH Uq 434.6, Wu 70.β-γ.1+; ?*a-e-ri-qe* PY Jn 832.11-11a (Hand 2); *e-u-ru-qo-ta*, if /Euruk^{wh}ontās/, but see *sub* *$g^{w}eh_2$-; MN *ḳẹ-*[]*-qo-ta* PY Jn 320.5 (Hand 2) if read as *ḳẹ-qo-ta*, possibly /Kersk^{wh}ontās/ (?), cf. Κρεσφόντης *LGPN* III A, IV; MN *pe-ri-qo-ta*, gen. *pe-ri-qo-ta-o*; derivative *pe-ri-qo-te-jo* (see *sub* *$g^{w}eh_2$-), if not linked to alph. Gr. βαίνω, could be /Perik^{wh}ontās/, cf. the abbreviated MNs Πέριφος *LGPN* II, and ?Περίφως *LGPN* I; ??MN *pe-qo-ta* (see *ibid.*), possibly a by-form of *pe-re-qo-ta* (or *pe-ri-qo-ta?*); possible abbreviated name *pe-qe-u* KN F(1) 7748.3 (Hand 124), Vd 7545 (Hand 124-S); PY Jn 693.10 (Hand 2); dat. *pe-qe-we* PY Cn 45.5 (Hand 21), Fn 79.9 (Hand 45), MN *wi-jo-qo-ta* (see *ibid.*), gen. *wi-jo-qo-ta-o*, possibly /Wi̯ok^{wh}ontās/ (LEUKART 1994, 57), if not linked to alph. Gr. -βάτης.

4. Some abbreviated names may be based on unattested *-qo-ta* or *-qo-no* compounds: MN *a-i-qe-u* PY Eb 895.A (Hand 41), Ep 301.14 (Hand 1); dat. *a-i-qẹ-we* PY Eo 471.2 (Hand 41); gen. *a-i-qe-wo* PY En 659.12 (Hand 1), Eo 471.1 (Hand 41), possibly /Ahi-k^{wh}ēus/ (from **a-i-qo-ta* < **h_xn̥si-* 'sword'); MN]*ki-jo-qe-u* PY An 172.3 (Hand 1), from *]*ki-jo-qo-ta vel sim.* More difficult MN *e-u-qo-ne* (dat.) PY Vn 130.13 (Hand 1) unless?/Euk^{wh}ōn/, an undissimilated spelling from **h_1weg^{wh}-*, cf. *e-u-ke-to*, *e-u-ko-me-no*, *o-u-ka*. Other abbreviated forms are listed above: *a-e-ri-qo* /? *a-e-ri-qe*, *a-no-qo*, *pe-qo-ta*/*pe-qe-u*.

$g^{wh}er$-

'to heat, warm' (*IEW* 493ff., *LIV* 219f., *NIL* 196ff.) cf. alph. Gr. θερμός, replacing *θαρμός; suffixed basic form *qe-ra-na* PY Ta 711.2.3 (Hand 2) /g^{wh}er-anā/ 'ewer (for hot water?)', cf. Lat. *fornax*, *furnus* < **g^{wh}or-no-s*; prefixed *-mo-* derivative form MN *a-qe-mo* KN Db 1160.B (Hand 117) ?/Ag^{wh}ermos/; compound MN *pi-ro-qe-mo* MY Ue 611v.1 /P^{h}ilog^{wh}ermos/, cf. φιλόθερμος Thphr. *CP* 2.3.3., or poss. based on θέρμαι i.e. 'Fond of hot springs'?

$g^{wh}ey(h_x)$-/*$g^{wh}oy(h_x)$-/*$g^{wh}i(h_x)$-

alph. Gr. φοιτάω, 'go to and fro' (denominative of *-to-* form such as *φοῖτος, *φοίτη from *θεί[ε]μαι, cf. κοῖτος, κοίτη and κεῖμαι? cf. also LEUKART 1994, 237f.) (*IEW* 489, absent in *LIV*). The exact reconstruction is uncertain (if **$g^{wh}eyh_x$-*, we may be dealing with another instance of the Saussure effect [*oRHC* > *oRC*], NUSSBAUM 1997, LAMBERTERIE 2004, 249 and note 42), although the root of alph. Gr. φοιτάω is almost certainly attested in MN *a-pi-qo-i-ta* KN Ai(3) 824.1 /Amp^{h}ik^{wh}oitās/. Other compounds in *-qo-ta* (including MN *a-pi-qo-ta*) may belong here (see above *sub* *$g^{w}eh_2$-, and above *sub* *$g^{wh}en$-); the same may be true for the *-qo-to* compounds, like the MN *po-ru-qo-to* KN Da 1137.b (Hand 117);

PY An 128.2 (Hand 42), /Polug^{wh}oitos/, cf. Πολυφοίτᾱς *LGPN* I, 381, etc. (but see above *sub* *$g^{wh}en$-). The zero grade form of the root may be found in Lat. *fīlum* 'thread (i.e. that what goes to an fro?), weft' < *$g^{wh}i$-*slo*-.

Perhaps to be also included: *a-pi-qo-to* PY Ta 642.3+ (Hand 2) description of tables and hearth, unclear meaning, /amp^{h}ik^{wh}oitos/ *ἀμφίφοιτος, 'with stripes?', cf. Ruijgh 1982, 206, or 'with waves on both sides?', see also *sub* *$g^{w}eh_2$-.

VOICELESS

k^{w}e

enclitic connective conjunction (*IEW* 635), cf. alph. Gr. τε, e.g. *a-di-ri-ja-pi-qe* PY Ta 708.2 (Hand 2) /andri^{j}āmp^{h}i-k^{w}e/ 'and with figurines', etc., for the whole dossier see -QE in Aura's *Indices*, and Ruijgh 1971.

k^{w}ed-

'to sharpen' (*IEW* 636, Watkins 2000, 44; absent in *LIV*), otherwise not attested in Greek but perhaps in compound MN *qe-da-do-ro* KN De 1294.B (Hand 117), Uf(1) 121 (Hand 124); TH Gp 150.1+ (Hand 305?), ?/K^{w}edandros/.

k^{w}elh$_1$-/*k^{w}olh$_1$-/*k^{w}lh$_1$-

• 'to move round, dwell, become' (*IEW* 639f., *LIV* 386f.), cf. alph. Gr. πέλομαι, τέλομαι. Basic form *qe-ro-me-no* PY Ad 697.a (Hand 23), middle participle /k^{w}elomeno-/ 'who are, will be'; perhaps also in KN As(1) 605.2 (Hand 103) as MN. As second element of compound with *o*-grade, possibly in PN *e-pi-qo-ra$_2$* PY Mn 456.10 (Hand 2) ?/Epik^{w}ol-ia (*scil.* region)/ > /Epik^{w}olla/ 'Highlands', cf. Ἐπιπολαί plateau near Syracuse. Also in numerous *-qo-ro* forms: MN *a-ko-ro-qo-ro* KN Da 1079 (Hand 117) /Agro-k^{w}olos/; *a-pi-qo-ro* PY Aa 804 (Hand 1), Ad 690 (Hand 23); TH Of 34.1 (Hand 303), dat. plur. *a-pi-qo-ro-i* PY Fr 1205 (Hand 2) /amp^{h}i-k^{w}olos/, cf. ἀμφίπολος, 'attendant'; ?MN *do-qo-ro* PY An 654.13 (Hand 1) ?/Dom/Dō-k^{w}olos/. A suffixed *e*-grade form *-*k^{w}el-es-*, alph. Gr. -τελης, cf. τέλος 'completion of a cycle, consummation' may occur in some names: MN]*qe-re* PY An 435.9 (Hand 3); MN]*qe-re-jo* KN L 523.a (but for *Études*, 266, adjective in parallel to *o-re-ne-ja*); *po-ḍạ-qe-re-ṣi-je-wo*, KN B 822.1a, if read correctly, may be a sequence of /spondā/ 'warrant' (Hitt. *ši[p]-pand-*, Lat. *spondeō*) and the gen. of a MN /K^{w}eresi^{j}ēus/, a shortened form of a compound of Τελεσι°, similar to Τελέσιος or Τελεσίας *LGPN* I, 432. A suffixed zero-grade form *$k^{w}lh_1$-mn-* may have yielded the MN *qe-re-me-ne-u* poss. /K^{w}lēmnēus/, cf. πλήμνη 'nave (of a wheel)', but see *sub* *k^{w}el- for a better interpretation.

• 'far (in space and time)', alph. Gr. τῆλε, loc. *$k^{w}ēlh_1$ 'at the turning point'. Only in MNs, normally as first element of compounds: MN *qe-*]*ṛẹ-qo-ta* PY Ep 613.10? (Hand 1), gen. *qe-re-qo-ta-o* PY En 659.1.2 (Hand 1) /K^{w}ēlek^{wh}ontās/; MN *qe-re-me-ne-u* PY Jn 845.13 (Hand 2) /K^{w}ēlemnēus/, shortened name prob. from Τηλέμνᾱστος, cf. e.g. *LGPN* I, 434; shortened MN *qe-re-wa* KN Xd 122+ (Hand 124-x), gen. *qe-re-wa-o* PY Cn 655.1 (Hand 21), /K^{w}ēlewas/, cf. Τηλέας *LGPN* I, 434, II, 427, III.A, 426; cf. also *qe-ṛẹ*[KN Vc(1) 9133 (Hand 124-s); TH Xb 364.1; MN *qe-ra-di-ri-jo* KN Sc <246> (Hand 124) /K^{w}ēlandri^{j}os/, cf. Τήλανδρος Q. Smyr. 4.7; MN *qe-re-ma-o* KN V(3) 7513 (= 509).2 (Hand 115); PY Qa 1295 (Hand 15); TH Fq(1) 125.3+ (Hand 305), Gp 270.1 nom. poss.

/K^{w}ēlemahos/, from */°mas-os/ (García Ramón 2006, 40, and 2012d), cf. μαίομαι, Οἰνόμαος. The Theban MN *qe-re-ro* Oq 434.2 (Uq after the editors), dat., may belong here as a shortened form /K^{w}ēlelos/ from a compound of the type **qe-re-ra-wo* /K^{w}ēle-lāwos/ cf. Boeotian Πειλε-στροτίδᾱς *LGPN* III B, 342.

k^{w}etwer-/*k^{w}etwor-/*k^{w}et(w)r̥
'four' (*IEW* 642f.) alph. Gr. (Attic) τέτταρες, Dor. τέτορες. We find the zero grade variant **k^{w}et(w)r̥-* *qe-to-ro-* (Attic τέτρ[α]-) in the compounds *qe-to-ro-po-pi* PY Ae 27.a+ (Hand 42) /k^{w}etropopp^{h}i/ 'quadrupeds' (instr. plur.); *qe-to-ro-we* PY Ta 641.2 (Hand 2) /k^{w}etrōwēs/ 'with four handles'; MN *qe-ṭo-ṛo-no* KN As(1) 605.2 (Hand 103) (cf. *qe-ṛo-me-no*); PY Jn 431.13 (Hand 2) ?/K^{w}etrōnos/; MN *qe-ta-ra-je-u* PY Jn 845.4 (Hand 2) /K^{w}etrai^{j}ēus/; MN *qe-te-re-u* PY Vn 865.3 (Class i), nom. shortened form /K^{w}etrēus/ from /K^{w}etr^{o}/, cf. Boeotian Πετραδίων.

***k^{w}ey-/*k^{w}oy-/*k^{w}i-* (1)
'to pay, compensate' (*IEW* 636f., *LIV* 379f. [3]), alph. Gr. τίνω, ποινή, basic form in MN]*qe-ja-do-ro* PY An 340.5 (Hand 22), /K^{w}ei^{j}andros/; *qe-ja-me-no* KN X 8532.1; PY Eb 294.1 (Hand 41); Ep 704.1 (Hand 1), /k^{w}ei^{j}amenos/ middle part. of τίνω, cf. García Ramón 2007 comparing this participle with the gloss *e-ne-ka a-no-qa-si-ja* which follows *O-pe-te-re-u* in PY Ea 805; the participle /k^{w}ei^{j}amenos/ would represent **k^{w}ei-sa-menos* for which a development /isa/ > /iha/ > /yya/ > /i^{j}a/ should be posited; verbal adjective *qe-te-a* KN Fp(2) 363.1 (Hand 222); *qe-te-a$_{2}$* PY Un 138.1 (Hand 42); TH Wu 51.γ+ (Hand γ); *qe-te-o* KN Fh 348.2 (Hand 141), L(5) 513.a+ (Hand 209), 693.1 (Hand 103); TH Wu 49.β+ (Hand β); *qe-te-jo* PY Fr 1206+ (Hand 2); TH Gp(1) 109.1+ (Hand 306); suffixed *o*-grade forms: MN *a-tu-qo-ta* KN B(5) 799.8 (Hand 104) /Artuk^{w}oitās/, cf. ἀρτύς· σύνταξις for its first member (Leukart 1994, 58);]*qo-i-ṇa*[KN X 7735.2 (if complete and not]*-qo-i-ṇa*), /k^{w}oinā/ 'payment', ποινή; *e-ke-ro-qo-no* PY Aa 777.a+ (Hand 1), Ab 559+ (Hand 21), Ad 691.a (Hand 23), An 199.1 (Hand 1) description of women, possibly a possessive compound ?/enk^{h}erro-k^{w}oinoi/ 'wage-earners' < 'having wages as payment'.

***k^{w}ey-/*k^{w}oy-* (2)
'to pile up, arrange' (*IEW* 637f., *LIV* 378f. [2]) alph. Gr. ποιέω, etc. Perhaps *o*-grade form MN *qo-ja-si* KN B(5) 799.3 (Hand 104), ?/K^{w}oi^{j}āsis/; MN *qo-ja-te* KN Od 667 *lat. inf.*, Od(1) 681.b (Hand 103), nom. cf. the former;]*qo-jo* KN Ra(2) 1028.B (Hand 127)?/°k^{w}oi^{j}os/, -ποιός.

k^{w}eyh$_{x}$-/*k^{w}ih$_{x}$-
'to value, honour' (*IEW* 636f., *LIV* 377f. [1]: **k^{w}ey-*, and?**k^{w}i-eh$_{1}$-/h$_{1}$-*; **k^{w}eh$_{1}$-i-* Beekes 2010), alph. Gr. τίω suffixed zero-grade form **k^{w}ih$_{x}$-ti-* in factitive compound MN *qi-si-ja-ko* PY Jn 706.6 (Hand 21) /K^{w}īsi^{j}ark^{h}os/, cf. Vegas Sansalvador 1999.

k^{w}i-
stem of indefinite and interrogative pronouns (*IEW* 644f.), alph. Gr. τις:]*jo-qi* PY Vn 1314.2 (Class ii) **yod-k^{w}id* > /hokk^{w}i(d)/, cf. ὅττι, or **yo-k^{w}id* > /hok^{w}i(d)/ with the first member not inflected ('pharmakon of A. which W. brings':

a-wa-ra-ka-na-o pa-ma-ko jo-qi wo-to-mo pe-re 1); prob. fem. stem **k^{w}ā* in the particle *qa* in]*o-de-qa-a*$_2$ PY On 300.8 (Class ii): /k^{w}āi/ Att. πῃ.

****k^{w}reyh$_2$-**/*k^{w}rih$_2$-*

'exchange, buy' (*IEW* 648, *LIV* 395f.), alph. Gr. πρίασθαι. *qi-ri-ja-to* KN Ai(3) 1037.2+ (Hand 204); B 822.1b+ /k^{w}ri^{j}ato/ 'bought', cf. πρίατο.

****sk^{w}el-***

This root without apparent cognates in other IE languages (absent in *IEW*, *LIV*) is very tentatively reconstructed to account for *qe-ro*$_2$ KN K(1) 740.3 (Hand 102?), Sk 789.A+ (Hand 206), ?/sk^{w}ellon/ 'a type/part of corselet'. A link with Aeol. σπέλιον, ψέλλιον (cf. Myc. *pa-sa-ro*?) 'armlet' is unlikely. Heubeck 1979, 247 reads /sk^{w}ellō/ dual cf. στέλλα· ζῶσμα, στολάς (σπολάς Sappho) and στολή, but see Duhoux 2008, 274.

B) PIE roots with an internal labiovelar are found in the following Mycenaean words:

****b^{h}eg^{w}-**/*b^{h}og^{w}-*

'to run, flee' (*IEW* 116, *LIV* 67), alph. Gr. φέβομαι, φοβέω. The Mycenaean compound ?MN *ra-wo-po-qo* KN As <4493>.3 may represent the *o*-grade of this root if analysed as /Lāwop^{h}og^{w}os/ (cf. φόβος, φοβέστρατος), but the second member of the compound is more likely to be derived from the root **b^{h}erg^{w}-* (see below).

****b^{h}erg^{w}-**/*b^{h}org^{w}-*

'to nourish', root without apparent cognates in other IE languages, perhaps to be analysed as enlarged **b^{h}er-g^{w}-*; alph. Gr. φέρβω, etc. *o*-grade **b^{h}org^{w}-*: action noun *po-qa* PY Un 138.2 (Hand 42); TH Ug 17 (Hand 301); cf. perhaps KN Gv 862.3, alph. Gr. φορβή, 'food'; a possible derivative is the title/profession *po-qa-te-u* PY Qa 1295 (Hand 15)? /p^{h}org^{w}ātēus/; nom. plur. *po-qe-wi-ja* PY Ub 1315.4 (Hand 31); dat. plur. *po-qe-wi-ja-i* PY An 1282.2 (Class iii), /p^{h}org^{w}ē^{w}i-^{j}ai, -āhi/ 'halters', φορβειά; *-p^{h}org^{w}os* in compounds]*i-qo-po-qo* TH Fq(1) 198.3+ (Hand 305); dat. plur. *i-qo-po-qo-i* TH Fq(2) 214.6+ (Hand 305) title/profession /ikwop^{h}org^{w}o-/ 'horse-feeder', ἱπποφορβός. Cf. the form *i-po-po-qo-i-* of PY Fn 79.10 /ippop^{h}org^{w}oihi/. MN *ra-wo-po-qo* KN As <4493>.3, /Lāwop^{h}org^{w}os/ 'Nourisher of his *lāwos*', cf. Λεώφορβος *LGPN* I, 288, García Ramón 2010a on parallels (see also *sub* **b^{h}eg^{w}-*). Possible *e*-grade in MN *pe-qe-ro-jo* PY Sa 768+ (Hand 26) gen.?/P^{h}erg^{w}elos/, shortened form from a compound **pe-qe-ra-wo* /P^{h}erg^{w}e-lāwos/, type φερένικος vs Νικηφόρος, although no MN with Φερβε° seems to be attested in alphabetic Greek.

****derk^{w}-**/*dork^{w}-*

?? 'eat, meal', alph. Gr. δόρπον 'evening meal'. Plausible root (enlarged? **der-k^{w}-*) without apparent cognates in other IE languages: a borrowing *per* Beekes 2010, 348. MN *do-qe-u* KN B(5) 804.2 (Hand 104); feminine ?GN *do-qe-ja* PY An 607.1.2.5-7 (Hand 1), /Dork^{w}ei^{j}ă/.

****deyk^{w}-**/*dik^{w}-*

? 'meal, feast', alph. Gr. δεῖπνον. Plausible root (enlarged **dey-k^{w}-*?) without apparent cognates in other IE languages (a link with δάπτω, Lat. *daps*, *damnum*

is not possible because of the labiovelar attested in Mycenaean), Pre-Greek *per* BEEKES 2010, 310; suffixed basic form *de-qo-no* TH Fq(2) 254.1 (Hand 305), ?/deik^{w}-no-/ 'meal, banquet', cf. δεῖπνον; prefixed *po-ro-de-qo-no* KN F(1) 51*v*.1 (Hand 124-D) ?'pre-dinner', cf. ἐπίδειπνον, προδόρπια; for other interpretations see DUHOUX 2008, 386. Zero-grade form poss. in *di-qo* PY An 724.10 (Hand 1), plur. ?*di-qo-te ibid.* 13, if taken as participles, but meaning uncertain.

d^{h}eg^{wh}-

'to burn' (*IEW* 240f., *LIV* 133f.), *ro*-suffixed alph. Gr. τέφρα 'ashes': possible derivative MN *te-qi-ri-jo-ne* PY Fn 187.12 (Hand 2), Un 219.4 (Hand 15, wrongly written as *te-qi-jo-ne*), Vn 851.13 (Hand 12), dat. /T^{h}ek^{wh}ri̯ōnei/, not attested in later onomastics. Cf. the root ***d^{h}g^{wh}-ey-*** below.

d^{h}g^{wh}-ey-/*d^{h}g^{wh}-i-

'to perish, be desiccated' (*IEW* 487, *LIV* 150ff.), alph. Gr. φθίνω, ἄ-φθιτος (prob. extended form of the previous root, cf. LAMBERTERIE 2000, §2.1 and note 21). MN *qe-te-se-u* KN As(1) 609.3 (*-te-* over erased *ṭą*?) (Hand 103) abbreviated form /K^{wh}t^{h}eisēus/ from a /K^{wh}t^{h}eisi°/ compound, cf. φθεισήνωρ, HEUBECK 1957, although the type is not attested in onomastics; zero-grade form ***d^{h}g^{wh}-i-*** WN *a-qi-ti-ta* KN Ap 639.12 (Hand 103); MY Oe 103.3 (Hand 52), 104.2 (Hand 51); *e-qi-ti-*l-*wo-e* TH Wu 75.β-.γ, perf. participle /ek^{wh}t^{h}iwohe/.

h$_1$eg^{wh}-

'to drink' ([*IEW* 23] *LIV* 231; cf. Hitt. *ekuzi*, Lat. *ēbrius*), alph. Gr. νήφων 'sober' < possessive compound *$_{\text{o}}^{\text{n}}$-h$_1$eg^{wh}ōn (WEISS 1994, 96f.). Possibly (??) abbreviated form of a derivative *Νηφώνιος MN *ne-qe-u* PY Aq 64.15 (Hand 21), Jn 725.14 (Hand 2); Qa 1298 (Hand 15), gen. *ne-qe-wo* PY Eb 495.1 (Hand 41), Ep 613.1 (Hand 1) ?/Nēg^{wh}ēus/.

h$_3$ek^{w}-

'to see' (*IEW* 775ff., *LIV* 297f.), prefixed basic form /u-ok^{w}ēus/ 'overseer' (/u-/ for /epi-/), variant spellings *wo-qe-we* PY An 610.7+ (Hand 1) and *u-wo-qe-we* KN C 902.6 (Hand 201); differently suffixed in *u-wo-qe-ne* KN V(2) 145.2 (Hand 124-F) /u^{w}-ok^{w}ēnes/; in compounds with /ok^{w}-/, many of them discussed elsewhere, as *a$_3$-ti-jo-qo* (§17.3.3.1.1); *du-ru-wo-qo* (§17.3.4.2.9); *e-ro$_2$-qo* (§17.3.2.1.1); *ka-ro-qo* (§17.3.4.2.9); *po-ki-ro-qo* (§17.3.4.2.9); *ti-ri-jo-qa* (§17.4.2.9); *wa-ru-wo-qo* (§17.3.4.2.9); *wo-no-qo-so* (§17.3.4.2.9). To these we must also add: MN *de-mo-qe* PY Cn 45.4 (Hand 21), dat. after *pa-ro*; the first member, however, is obscure; MN *do-ro-qo* PY Na 384 (Hand 1) gen., TH Xb 180.1 with an obscure first member unless it is from the zero-grade *h$_2$nr- of *h$_2$ner-, cf. δρώψ, /(n)Drōk^{w}s/, well attested in later onomastics, see *CEG* 2, 1997, 157 (entry by de LAMBERTERIE), or cf. Δόλοπες (BEEKES 1997); MN *wo-ro-to-qo* KN Vc(1) 290 (Hand 124-s), with an obscure first member (*/Wr̥t-/ HEUBECK 1958, 117 n. 25 'Round-face'); with local prefix: MN *mẹ-ṭọ-qo* TH Fq(1) 132.1 (Hand 305) /Metōk^{w}os/, Μέτωπος *LGPN* III.A. 299; Μέτουπος *LGPN* III.B, 283; derivative MN *me-to-qe-u* PY An 192.11 (Hand 22) /Metōk^{w}-ēus/, cf. μέτωπον, and the noun *o-po-qo* KN Sd 4401+ (Hand 128) /opōk^{w}ōis/ instr. 'with blinkers', cf. πρόσωπον; an earlier *wo-no-qo* /Woin-ok^{w}-s/ 'Wine coloured' can be extracted from *wo-no-qe-u*, attested in derivatives like *wo-no-qe-wa* PY Na 396 (Hand 1) PN and MN *wo-no-qe-we* PY Un 1193.2 (Class i)

dat.; cf. also *wo-no*?]-*qe-wa* KN Vc(1) 123 (Hand 124-s);]*qe-we* PY Un 1321.2 (Hand 34). Finally, the noun *a-to-ro-qo* PY Ta 722.1 (Hand 2) /ant^{h}rōk^{w}os/, ἄνθρωπος, should probably be included here, although there is a long standing controversy on the nature of its first member (*NIL* 372, 381). Compounds of the type of the MNs Γοργώπας, Εὐρώπας, Λυκώπας, Οἰνώπας or the WN Εὐρώπη etc. could (but need not) be represented by the following: MN *o-ro-qa* KN V(3) 479.2 (Hand 115); MN *o-to-ro-qa* KN De 1371.B (Hand 117); PY Vn 493.3 (Class i); WN *mi-jo-qa* PY An 1281.7+ (Hand 12), Fn 50.12 (Class iii), 837.12+ (Hand 45); MN *pe-to-no-qa* TH Of 29.3 (Hand 303), to be added to the clear *ti-ri-jo-qa*.

k̂ek^{w}-/*k̂ok^{w}-

'excrement, dung' (*IEW* 544, *NIL* 413f.) *o*-grade root with *ro*-suffix ***k̂ok^{w}-ro-***, cf. alph. Gr. κόπρος MN *ko-qe-re-u* if it is the correct reading of *ko*-[•]-*re-u* in TH Of 30.1 (Hand 303) (other possibilities are *ko-ka-re-u*, *ko-pe-re-u*). The MN *ko-pe-re-u* KN Am 821.2+, alph. Gr. Κοπρεύς, may well have a different origin.[39]

leyk^{w}-/*loyk^{w}-

'to leave' (*IEW* 699f., *LIV* 406f.), basic form *re-qo-me-no* KN As(2) 1517.1 (Hand 102?) /leik^{w}omenoi/ 'remaining ones', λείπω; *o*-grade ***loyk^{w}-*** in the compound adjectives *o-pi-ro-qo* PY Aa 777 (Hand 1), Ab 899.B (Hand 21), Ad 691 (Hand 23) /opiloik^{w}oi/ 'remaining, left behind'; *pe-ri-ro-qo* KN V(3) 479*v*.1 (Hand 115) /periloik^{w}oi/ 'surplus ones'; cf. also MN *re-qa-se-wo* PY Cn 600.6 (Hand 21) gen. of */Leik^{w}sēus/, if it is a shortened form of a compound ***re-qa-sa-no*** /Leik^{w}sānōr/, although prob. a spelling ***re-qe-se-wo*** would be expected.

neg^{w}-

'to be dark' (*IEW* 762f., *LIV* 449, *NIL* 504ff.), cf. Hitt. *nekuzzi*, *ne-qa-sa-pi* KN K(1) 872.2.3b (Hand 102) /*ne-qa-sāp^{h}i*/, instr. plur. For decorative (?) patterns of a vessel, /nek^{w}sāp^{h}i/ 'with dark applications?'; MN *ne-qa-sa-ta* PY Fn 324.6 (Class iii) ethnic ?/Neg^{w}sātās/ on PN ?/Neg^{w}sā/, cf. acc.? νέξας· τὰ στρώματα Hsch., in both cases with /s/ < */t-y/? Related to νεβρός 'fawn'?

neyg^{w}-/*nig^{w}-

'to wash' (*IEW* 761, *LIV* 450), zero-grade ***nig^{w}-*** in compounds *ke-ni-qa* KN Ws 8497.β /k^{h}ēr-nig^{w}-s/ 'handwasher', cf. χέρνιψ; *ke-ni-qe-te-we* MY Wt 503.β-.γ (Hand 65), cf. KN X 768.2, /k^{h}ēr-nik^{w}-tēwe/ '2 handwashers'.

pek^{w}-/*pok^{w}-

'to cook' (*IEW* 798, *LIV* 468), cf. alph. Gr. πέσσω; suffixed basic form poss.]*pe-qe-ta*[KN X 9197 (Hand 115?) /Pek^{w}etās/ MN?; *o*-grade form in compound *a-to-po-qo* PY An 39.11 (Class i), 427.3 (Hand 3), Fn 50.7 (Class iii); MY Au 102.14 (Hand 52); dat. plur. *a-to-po-qo-i* MY Oe 117.1 (Hand 54) professional title /arto-pok^{w}os/ 'bread-baker', cf. ἀρτοπόπος and ἀρτοκόπος; *a-si-to-po-qo* PY Eb 177.A (Hand 41), Ep 613.6 (Hand 1) professional title /(a)sitopok^{w}os/ 'corn-baker' (blending between *si-to-* 'corn' and *a-to-* /arto-/ 'bread'?).

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[39] LAMBERTERIE 2012 has persuasively argued that Mycenaean *ko-pe-re-u* and alph. Gr. κοπρεύς have nothing to do with κόπρος, but are derived from another root **kop-*, cf. κόπτω, *via* a hypothetical derivative in *-ro-*.

***sek^{w}-/*sok^{w}-* (1)**

'to follow' (*IEW* 896f., *LIV* 525f.), alph. Gr. ἕπομαι: noun in /-tās/ *e-qe-ta* KN Am(2) 821.2, As <4493>.1, B 1055.1 (Hand 102?); PY An 519.15+ (Hand 1); *e-qe-ta-qe* PY Ed 317.1 (Hand 1); dual *e-qe-ta-e* KN Am(2) 821.1; dat. plur. *e-qe-ta-i* PY An 607.3 (Hand 1) /hek^{w}etās/ 'follower'; derivative *e-qe-si-jo* KN Lc 646.B (Hand 103); PY Ed 847.1 (Hand 1), Sa 753 (Hand 26); *e-qe-si-ja* KN Ld(1) 571.b+ (Hand 116), L 871.b (Hand 114?); PY Sa 787.B+ (Hand 26); compounds: MN]*ẹ-qe-ra-wo* KN B(5) 5025.2 (Hand 104) /Hek^{w}e-lāwos/; *i-qo-e-qe* KN Sd 4401.a+ (Hand 128) /ikwohek^{w}ēs/ 'horse-support'; MN *e-qo-me-ne-*[PY Fr 1338.1+ (Class ii), obscure; *o*-grade form MN *o-qa-wo-ni* PY Fn 324.16 (Class iii), dat. /Hok^{w}āwōn/, cf. ὀπάων; compound MN *pi-ro-qa-wo*[KN As(1) 609.2 (Hand 103) ??/P^{h}ilok^{w}āwōn/ (but we would expect **pi-ro-o-qa-wo*); MN *o-qa* PY Jn 601.3 (Hand 2) shortened form /Hok^{w}as/ (alternative Ὦπας Suid.). Perhaps to be included here are the obscure MN *o-qe-qa* PY Cn 45.9 (Hand 21) (and poss. dissimilated MN *o-pe-qa* Cn 570.4 [Hand 1]), if the first member is /Hok^{w}e°/ (shortened MN *o-qe* PY Cn 4.10 [Hand 21]?) and *o-qo-ọ-ki-te* KN L 588.3 (perhaps MN *o-qo-ọ-* as one word) /Hok^{w}ohōn/. For *e-qo-te*, which does not seem to belong here since the thematic verb of this root is middle, see below ***sek^{w}-/*sk^{w}-* (2).

***sek^{w}-/*sk^{w}-* (2)**

'to say' (*IEW* 897f., *LIV* 526f.), cf. ἔνισπε (Lat. *inque*), *e-qo-te* PY An 615 *lat. inf.*+ (Hand 1) participle /hek^{w}ontes/ 'those announcing' Risch 1987; aorist in a compound with two preverbs *a-pi-e-qe* TH Fq(2) 254.1 (Hand 305) /amp^{h}i-en-(s) k^{w}e/ < ***amp^{h}i-en-sk^{w}e* García Ramón 2012a.

sleh$_2$g^{w}-

'to seize' (*IEW* 958, *LIV* 566), cf. alph. Gr. λάζομαι, λαμβάνω (*n*-infixed); masculine agent nouns *ra-qe-te*[-*re* TH Fq(2) 252.4 /lā(m)g^{w}tēres/; feminine *ra-qi-ti-ra$_2$* PY Ab 356.B (Hand 21) /lā(m)g^{w}triai/; gen. plur. *ra-qi-ti-ra$_2$-o* PY Ad 667 (Hand 23).

terk^{w}-/*tork^{w}-/*tr̥k^{w}-

'to twist' (*IEW* 635, *LIV* 1077), cf. alph. Gr. ἄτρακτος 'spindle'? (Lat. *torqueō*), *o*-grade action noun *to-qa* KN Fh 339+ (Hand 141); variant spelling *to-ro-qa* KN Fh 358+ (Hand 141) 'for twisting (i.e. for making oil twisting a bag of olives, as in Egypt [?])'; noun *to-ro-qo* KN Od(1) 536.1 (Hand 103) /trok^{w}on/, cf. MN *e-u-to-ro-qo* PY Jn 478.10 /Eutrok^{w}os/, cf. Εὔτροπος *LGPN* III.A, 177, IV, 137; prefixed *ku-su-to-ro-qa* KN Bg 817 (Hand 137); PY Ed 411.1 (Hand 41), Er 880.8 (Hand 24); TH Av 101.6a (Hand 304), Fq(2) 187.4+ (Hand 305), /ksun-trok^{w}ā/ 'gathering', cf. συστροφή contaminated by στρέφω; prefixed derivative *e-to-ro-qa-ta* KN Oa 878.2, U 736.2 /en-trok^{w}ātās/, but see below *sub* ***k^{w}eh$_2$-*; suffixed (causative) form ***trok^{w}-eyo-* participle *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* PY Eq 213.1 (Hand 1) 'while making a ?tour of inspection', cf. *-to-qo* /tork^{w}os/ in *jo-e-ke-to-qo* KN Gv 863.1 /hō(s) hek^{h}ei tork^{w}os/ 'the "circuit" (?) is as follows in vineyards (*wo-na-si* /woinassi/)'; a suffixed zero-grade form ***tr̥k^{w}-is* 'twist, spiral' offers a better interpretation of **to-qi-* than ***str̥g^{wh}-is* 'whirling': instr. *to-qi-de* PY Ta 642.3+ (Hand 2); derivative *to-qi-de-ja* PY Ta 709.1 (Hand 2), *to-qi-de-jo* PY Ta 715.3 (Hand 2); *to-qi-de-we-sa* PY Ta 711.3 (Hand 2). The

MN *to-qi-da-so* PY Fn 324.23 (Class iii) could have a first member /Tork^{w}id°/, but the word structure is obscure.

wek^{w}-/*wok^{w}-

'to speak' (*IEW* 1135f., *LIV* 673f.), cf. alph. Gr. εἶπον, ἔπος suffixed *o*-grade form in the compound MN *e-pi-wo-qa-ta-o* PY Sa 1266 (Hand 26?), gen., not /Epiwok^{w}tās/, cf. ἐνοπή 'crying, voice', cf. LEUKART 1994, 95, but possibly /Epiwok^{w}ātās/.

yeh$_1$g^{w}-

*yēg^{w}-eh$_2$ 'youth' (*IEW* 503), ἥβη, MN *e-qa*[PY Cn 436.8 (Hand 1); MN *e-qa-jo* KN Db 5310.B (Hand 117) /Hēg^{w}ai^{j}os/, although later Ἅβατος is not attested as a MN, and moreover *e-ri-jo* is a better reading; the interpretation of the MN *e-qa-ro* KN Dv 1125 (Hand 117) as ?/Hēg^{w}ālos/ depends on pairs like σιγᾷ : σιγᾱλός and is rather speculative.

§17.3.2.1.2. *The homomorphemic clusters*

The syllabograms of the *q*-series were also used to represent the inherited homomorphemic clusters /g^{h}w/, /gw/, /kw/, whereas similar, but heteromorphemic, clusters were written in full.[40] Here we review the evidence:

(h$_1$)ek̂w-o-

'horse' (*IEW* 301, *NIL* 230-33), alph. Gr. ἵππος; *e-qe-a-o* KN V(1) 56 (Hand 124); *e-qe-o* PY Aq 64.8 (Hand 21), along with *a-to-mo*; initial vowel altered *i-qo* KN Ca 895.1; PY Fa 16 (Hand 42); gen. *i-qo-jo* PY Ea 59.5 (Hand 43); derivative *i-qi-ja* KN Sd 4402.b+ (Hand 128), Sf(2) 4418+ (Hand 129?), Sf(1) 4421+ (Hand 128?); TH V 159 (Hand 314); dual *i-qi-jo* KN Sd 4401.b+ (Hand 128); derivative *i-qe-ja* PY An 1281.1 (Hand 12); first member in compounds *i-qo-na-to-mo* PY Eq 146.11 (Hand 1) although the reading is very dubious; *i-qo-e-qe* KN Sd 4404.a+ (Hand 128); *i-qo-qe* PY Ta 722.1 (Hand 2); prefixed compound *e-pi-qo-i* TH Fq(2) 214.10+ (Hand 305) dat. plur. /ep-ikwoihi/. MN *i-qa-ro* KN Xd 7555 (Hand 124-ŕ) could represent /Ikwalos/. For the root in fast speech as first member of the compound *i-za-a-to-mo-i* PY Fn 50.8, see below.

ĝ^{h}weh$_1$r-

'wild beast' (*IEW* 493, *LIV* 182), alph. Gr. θήρ, Aeol. φήρ always in lengthened-grade form **ĝ^{h}wēr-: MN *qe-ra-jo* KN Vc(2) 5523+ (Hand 115?), V 482.2 (Hand 115) /K^{h}wērai^{j}os/; GN *qe-ra-si-ja* KN Fh 5475 (Hand 141), Fp(1) 1.6+ (Hand 138) /K^{h}wērasi^{j}ā/; GN *qe-ra-si-jo* KN Fp(1) 16.2 (Hand 138) /K^{h}wērasi-^{j}os/; MN]*qe-ra-so* KN B(3) 7043 (Hand 106) /K^{h}wērasos/; perhaps also *qe-ra*[KN X 8297 (= 5433); MN *qe-re-wa* KN Xd 122+ (Hand 124-x); gen. *qe-re-wa-o* PY Cn 655.1 (Hand 21), /K^{h}wērēwās/, Θηρήας *LGPN* III.A, 210 cf. Θηρεύς *LGPN* II, 225; *qe-ri* KN Df 1360.B (Hand 117), shortened MN /K^{h}wēris/, cf.

[40] Cf. *o-da-ke-we-ta* KN So 4446+ (Hand 131) or *o-da-ku-we-ta* KN So 4435 (Hand 128?) /odak#wenta/ '(wheels) with teeth'; *te-tu-ko-wo-a* KN L 871.b (Hand 114?), *te-tu-ko-wo-a$_2$* PY Sa 682 (Hand 26) /t^{h}et^{h}uk^{h}#woha/ '(garments/wheels) fully produced', see §17.3.3.5.1.

Θῆρις *LGPN* I, 225, III.A, 210; *qe-ri-jo* KN Ag 1654 (Hand 124-A), V(4) 5946.1 (Hand 103); gen. *qe-ri-jo-jo* TH Wu 58.βb (Hand α), MN /K^{h}wērⁱos/, cf. Θήριος *LGPN* I, 225; *qe-ro* KN As(1) 602.3 (Hand 103), Db 1204 (Hand 117), V(3) 479.1 (Hand 115), V(4) 5946.1 (Hand 103), MN /K^{h}wērōn/, cf. Θήρων *LGPN* III.A, 210; *qe-ri-ta* PY Eb 900.A (Hand 41), Ep 613.17 (Hand 1) WN poss. /K^{h}wēritā/.

kweh$_2$-

'to own' (*IEW* 593, *LIV* 375 [perhaps *ḱw-*]), alph. Gr. πέπᾱμαι, *e-qa-na-qe*[PY Ua 158.1 (Class ii), obscure, but prob. *e-qa-na*, connected with the preceding *o-na* by means of *-qe*, is a prefixed derivative in *-nā*, cf. πᾶμα, Boeot. τἀππάματα 'possession(s)'; compounds *mo-ro-qa* KN C 954.1 MN, Xd 7586 (Hand 124-5?) MN?; PY An 519.2 (Hand 1), Aq 64 (Hand 21), Jo 438 (Class i), appellative /morokwās/ 'shareholder' (*smoro°*); MN *qa-sa-ko* KN C(4) 912.7 (Hand 111); Dd 1283.B (Hand 117); see also]*qa-sa*[KN X 5178 /Kwāsark^{h}os/ Πάσαρχος *LGPN* III.A, 354, cf. the synonymous Κτήσαρχος García Ramón 2000. Cf. possibly *o-qe-qa* PY Cn 45.9 (Hand 21) (and poss. dissimilated *o-pe-qa* Cn 570.4 [Hand 1]) MN dat. compound in /°kwās/?; *po-no-qa-ta* KN Da 1341.b (Hand 117), PY Fn 324.15 (Class iii), if MN /Pono-kwā(s)tās/.[41] The Thebes tablets may offer two more instances: *qa-a$_2$-ri-da* Of 39.2 (Hand 303), if a derivative in *-id-* from */Kwā-halos/, and *qa-so-pi* Up 432.2, dat., with a second member obscure. If MN *e-to-ro-qa-ta* KN Oa 878.2; U 736.2 /Est^{h}lo-(k)kwā(s)tās/, cf. García Ramón 2000.

We expect PIE **kwV-* to be continued as Mycenaean *qV-* but there is a clear exception in PIE **kweh$_x$p-* 'to smoke' (*IEW* 596, *LIV* 376), whose suffixed zero-grade form **k(w)h$_x$p-no-* καπνός 'smoke' shows no /w/ in the Mycenaean form *ka-pi-ni-ja* PY Vn 46 /kapniⁱās/ '(parts) of the chimney'. It could represent an early dissimilation of the cluster, but the root form is quite uncertain, cf. Beekes 2010, 638f.

§17.3.2.1.3. *The non-Greek labiovelars signs*

So far we have considered all the forms with a syllabogram of the *q*-series which may continue a PIE labiovelar or a homomorphemic cluster;[42] there remains a number of residual Mycenaean forms with syllabograms of this series which can plausibly be identified as non-Greek, either because they look like Pre-Greek toponyms or because they have non-Greek features such as e.g. the preservation of intervocalic /s/ or the like.[43]

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[41] Kölligan 2011 has persuasively argued in favour of this interpretation.

[42] PIE roots involving a labiovelar not attested/identified yet in Mycenaean Greek: **b^{h}eyg^{w}-*, **b^{h}rek^{w}-*, **d^{h}eg^{wh}h$_2$-*, **d^{h}eyh$_x$g^{w}-*, **g^{w}ed^{h}-*, **g^{w}eh$_2$d^{h}-*, **g^{w}ey-*, **g^{w}eyd$^{(h)}$-*, **g^{w}el-*, **g^{w}elh$_2$-*, **g^{w}ĝ^{h}er-*, **g^{wh}reh$_1$-*, **g^{wh}ren-*, **h$_1$eng^{w}-*, **h$_1$erk^{w}-*, **h$_1$g^{wh}el-*, **h$_1$reg^{w}-es-*, **h$_2$meyg^{w}-*, **k^{w}ek-*, **k^{w}end^{h}-*, **k^{w}er-*, **leg^{wh}-*, **neg^{wh}-*, **penk^{w}e-*, **perk^{w}u-*, **seng^{wh}-*, **seyk^{w}-*, **(s)g^{w}es-*, **(s)g^{w}h$_2$el-*, **sleng^{wh}-*, **sneyg^{wh}-*, **tek^{w}-*, **terg^{w}-*, **trey-g^{w}-*, **weg^{w}-*, **wog^{wh}-n-i-* and **yek^{w}r̥-*. PIE homomorphemic clusters not attested/identified yet in Mycenaean Greek: **gwel-*, **kwas-*, **kwat-*, **kweh$_2$t-*, **kwelp-*, **ḱwen*, **ḱwes-*, **kwey-*, **kweyd-*, and **kweyt*.

[43] See a different attempt in Freeman 1989.

PLACE-NAMES/ETHNICS:

pe-ra$_2$*-qo* PY Ma 193.3 (Hand 2) ethnic nom. plur. /Perraig^{w}oi/ Περραιβοί.

**qe-re-mo* PN attested in dat.-loc. *qe-re-me-e* PY Na 540 (Hand 1), *qe-re-me*[PY Mn 1409.2 (Hand 14), neuter, could actually be IE if related to Lat. *glomus*; *qe-re-me-ti-re* PY Cn 4.3 (Hand 21) and *qe-re-me-ti-wo* PY An 5.6 (Class ii), Cr 868.7 (*qe-re-me* in capitals, *ti-wo* minuscule) (Class i), perhaps a juxtaposition of an adjective /g^{w}lemĕs/ plus a noun, either *ti-wo* or *ti-re*. Cf. perhaps alph. Gr. βλεμεαίνω, ἀβλεμής with a not fully established meaning.

**te-qa* later Greek PN Θῆβαι: all. *te-qa-de* TH Wu 51.β+ (Hand γ); MY X 508.a; locative *te-qa-i* TH Ft 140.1 (Hand 312); derivative WN *te-qa-ja* KN Ap 5864.4 (Hand 103); PY Ep 539.6 (Hand 1); *te-qa-jo* TH Wu 47.β (Hand γ??), Oq 434.1 (Uq after the editors), dat. plur. *te-qa-jo-i* TH Gp(1) 178.1 (Hand 306?), Oq 434.1; ethnic as MN *te-qa-ta-qe* PY An 610.15 (Hand 1); compound *au-to-te-qa-jo* TH Ug 4 (Hand 301).

**ti-qa* later Greek PN Θίσβη: derivative MN *ti-qa-jo* KN As(2) 1517.3 (Hand 102?); PY Eo 278 (Hand 41), Jn 310.2 (Hand 2); gen. *ti-qa-jo-jo* PY En 467.1 (Hand 1); cf. θίσβη· σορός Suid.

Cretan PNs They are widely attested in the Knossos records: *qa-mo* Da 1317+ (Hand 117), etc; derivative *qa-mi-ja* Ak(2) 613.1 (Hand 108), etc.; *qa-mi-jo* E 749.5 (Hand 136), etc. (cf. *u-qa-mo* Mc 4454.B [Hand 132]?); *qa-na-no-to* Da 1351+ (Hand 117); MN *qa-na*[V(3) 5538.1 (Hand 115); *qa-ra* Am(2) 819.B, Da 1098.B+ (Hand 117), etc.; derivative MN *qa-ra-jo* As(2) 1517.8 (Hand 102?), etc.; *qi-ko-we-e* C(4) 911.5 (Hand 111), poss. a PN in the loc.; for the type cf. **56-ko-we-e*. However *qa-sa-ro-we* Db 1329.b (Hand 117), etc. could be a Greek formation /K^{w}sallo-went-/, cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 2008, 239 who refers to the gloss ψάλλος· ὕλη.

THEONYMS (all at Knossos):

ma-qe F(1) 51*v*.2 (Hand 124-D) obscure.

]*qe-sa-ma-qa* Fs 11.B (Hand 139) GN or PN? Obscure.

**sa-qa-ra* derivative *sa-qa-re-jo* KN Dl(1) 412.A+ (Hand 118) obscure, cf. PN Σαβαλασσός.

PERSONAL NAMES:

It is remarkable that practically all Pre-Greek personal names which include a labiovelar sign come from Knossos; the few Pylos and Mycenae exceptions are quoted in footnotes 44, 45, 46 and 48.

Labiovelar signs in initial position:

qa-da-ro V(6) 831.5 (Hand 203), MN /K^{w}andaros/, Πάνδαρος *Il.* 4.88+.

qa-da-so Db 1297.B (Hand 117), MN /K^{w}ādasos/, cf. PN Πήδασος *Il.* 6.21+.

qa-i-po Dg 1101.B (Hand 117), shepherd's name, obscure.

qa-mi-ki-[Dv 8280.B (Hand 117), shepherd's name, obscure.

qa-mi-si-jo Sc 135 (Hand 124) MN /K^{w}amisi^{j}os/, a derivative from the name of a Messenian river, alph. Gr. Πάμισος; variant *qa-me-si-jo* As(2) 1516.5 (Hand 101).

**qa-nwa* derivatives *qa-nu-wa-so* As(2) 1516.17 (Hand 101), *qa-nwa-so* Dl(1) 943.B (Hand 118), MN /K^{w}anwas(s)os/, cf. Πανύασις;]*qa-nu-we*[Fh <389> (Hand 141??);[44] cf. also *qa-*83-to* Sc 257.2 (Hand 124).

qa-qa-ro As(1) 604.3 (Hand 103) /G^{w}arg^{w}aros/. Same type of formation as βάρβαρος?

qa-ra$_2$ MN /K^{w}allans/, cf. Πάλλας; derivatives *qa-ra$_2$-ti-jo* Dg 1235.B (Hand 117), MN /K^{w}allanti^{j}os/; *qa-ra$_2$-ro* Dl(1) 932.B (Hand 118), MN /K^{w}allaros/: *qa-ra$_2$-wo* Ce 50.1a, *v*.1a (Hand 124-B), MN /K^{w}allāwōn/, *qa-ra$_2$-ri*[X 7873.2 /K^{w}allari[^{j}os]/. A basic /K^{wh}allans/ is not excluded, cf. Φαλλᾶς *LGPN* I, 453 (Crete). Philistid. *Fr.* I.J. claimed that the word means 'youth'.

qa-ra-i-so Dv 5285 (Hand 117), V(3) 466.1 (Hand 115), MN /K^{w}raisos/, cf. Cretan PN Πραισός.[45]

qa-ra-su-ti-jo Dd 1150.B (Hand 117), Nc 4489 (Hand 133), Xd 154.3 (Hand 124), MN in unassibilated /°-unt^{h}i^{j}os/, derived from a PN of the type Τίρυνς, -υνθος.

qa-si-da-ro Db 1110+ (Hand 117), shepherd's name, obscure, compound in /°daros/.

qa-wo[B(5) 799.5 (Hand 104), MN nominative, obscure.

qe-pa-ta-no Ln 1568.3b (Hand 103), WN nominative, obscure.

qi-nwa-so Db 1515.B (Hand 117), shepherd's name /K^{w}inwas(s)os/ derived from a PN?

qi-qe-ro As(2) 1517.5 (Hand 102?), MN nom. /K^{w}ik^{w}elos/, cf. Τίτελος *LGPN* III.A, 434 (Sicily). Reduplicated?

qi-ta-ro Dk(1) 936 (Hand 120), MN nom. /K^{w}itaros/, cf. Τίταρος *LGPN* III.A, 433, cf. also *qi-ṭą*[B(5) 9288.2 (Hand 104).

qi-zo Dd 1291.B (Hand 117), shepherd's name, obscure.

Labiovelar signs in internal position:

]*a-qa-ro* Sc 233 (Hand 124), MN, obscure, but cf. ἀπαλός.

a-qe-de B(5) 799.6 (Hand 104) MN, obscure.

a-qi-ra[Xd 166.1+ (Hand 124), MN, obscure.

a-qi-ru Ce 50.1a, *v*.1a (Hand 124-B), MN, thematized *a-qi-ro* Da 1123 (Hand 117), obscure.

a-qi-ta[V(3) 7620 (= 510).1 (Hand 115), MN, obscure.

ki-nu-qa Ap 618.1 (Hand 103), WN nom.; obscure, but see Κίνυψ *LGPN* III.A, 241, Calabria; for the structure cf. *ki-nu-ra* Κινύρᾱς *LGPN* III.B, 231.

ma-di-qo B(5) 806.4 (Hand 104), Db 1460.b (Hand 117), Dl(1) 930.B (Hand 118) MN nom. /Madig^{w}os/, cf. μαδιβός· δίκελλα 'two-pronged fork' (to be excluded?, cf. *NIL* 456).

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[44] However we have a Pylos instance of the MN]*qa-nu-we-jo* Jn 725.14 (Hand 2).

[45] A derivative *qa-ra-si-jo* MN /K^{w}rais^{j}os/ Πραίσιος *LGPN* I, 383, occurs at Mycenae (on Au 657.6+ [Hand 62]). We also find a MN or PN (*Mémoires* I, 244) *qa-da-wa-so* in MY Oe 130.a (Hand 56) in the dat. (cluster /dw/?) as well as *do-qo-so* in MY Au 609.3 (Hand 57) MN nom. /Dork^{w}sos/?, cf. Δόροψος *LGPN* III.A, 134.

mo-qo-so De 1381.B (Hand 117) nom.[46] MN /Mok^{w}sos/, Μόψος, cf. Hitt. *Mukšaš*, Phoenician *Mpš*; see YAKUBOVICH 2010, 155.

po-ro-tu-qo-no Vc(1) 54 (Hand 124-3) MN, obscure.

ta-qa-ra[X 7752.b (Hand 115?), dat. *ta-qa-ra-te*[Xe 524.2 (Hand 103), or *ta-qa-ra-ti* V(3) 7512.2 (Hand 115), MN, /-an(t$^{(h)}$)s, -ant$^{(h)}$os/, obscure.

tu-qa-ni-ja-so Db 1279.B (Hand 117), Np(2) 5721 (Hand 134) MN /Tunk^{w}ani̯asos/, cf. τύμπανον 'kettledrum'; a related form could be WN *ku-tu-qa-no* Ap 639.9 (Hand 103), Da 1161.B (Hand 117) if /Ktunk^{w}anos/, contaminated with κτύπος 'noise'.

A number of Knossos MNs end in *...a-qo*: *di-ra-qo* Dk(2) 1075.B (Hand 119); *ja-qo* Mc 4461.B (Hand 132), cf. X 7965;]*ḳi-sa-qo*[Dv 5203 (Hand 117), cf. Dv 9594; *mi-ta-qo* Dv 1292.B (Hand 117); *pi-ra-qo* Vc(1) 181 (Hand 124-s);]*ṣi-ja-qo* As(1) 566.2 (Hand 103);]*ta-na-qo* Ai(3) 825.1 (Hand 204); *ta-ra-qo* E 843.3 (Hand 102); **47-ta-qo*[Xd 140.2b (Hand 124-7). This termination could in theory represent the second member of various compound names, but a link with PIE *h_2elg^{wh}-/*h_2lg^{wh}- 'to earn, be worth' (°/alk^{wh}os/), alph. Gr. ἀλφάνω, is very doubtful and we are probably dealing with names of Pre-Greek stock (e.g. -αμβος).

We have no room here for a detailed study of non-Greek onomastics in the Mycenaean tablets; we want to stress, however, the predominance of labiovelar signs in initial position.

On the other hand, in the Mycenaean lexicon we find words for which no PIE root can be posited. This seems to be the case, for instance, of the title which is the forerunner of the Classical βασιλεύς 'king'; in PY Jn 431.6+ (Hand 2) *qa-si-re-u* /g^{w}asilēus/ denotes the foreman of a metallurgical mill; the derivative *qa-si-re-wi-ja* KN As(2) 1516+ (Hand 102?), K(1) 875+ (Hand 102); PY Fn 50.1-3+, Jn 845.7 (Hand 2), Jo 438.20 (Class i), Pa 398+ (Class iii); TH Ug 42.a /g^{w}asilēwi̯ā/ refers to the team under the *qa-si-re-u*.

A vessel name displays the *i/e* alternation which characterizes borrowed substrate terms, and is well attested:

qe-to PY Ta 641.2 (Hand 2); MY Ue 611.4 (Hand 60); diminutive *qe-ti-ja* MY Ue 611.3 (Hand 60); Wt 504.β (Hand 65), name for a vessel, cf. πίθος Pre-Greek with unexpected treatment of the labiovelar?; MN *qe-ta-ko* PY Cn 45 *lat. inf.*+ (Hand 21), 570.3 (Hand 1), 1287.4 (Hand 31), Jn 431.3 (Hand 2); gen. *qe-ṭa-ḳọ-jo* PY Jn 431.11 (Hand 2) /K^{w}et^{h}akos/ nickname based on *qe-to*, 'The Barrel', cf. πίθος (a suitable name for a potter, *ke-ra-me-u*, in Cn 570.3) better than a compound with /°ark^{h}os/, type Τείσαρχος. For another possible interpretation /K^{w}ettakos/ with *e/i* alternation, cf. Πιττακός *LGPN* I, 373.

Of dubious origin is:

qi-si-pe-e PY Ta 716.2 (Hand 2) /k^{w}sip^{h}ehe/ 'two swords', word of probable non-Greek origin (Pre-Greek according to BEEKES 2010 *s.v.*).

[46] The gen. is attested at Pylos, *mo-qo-so-jo* Sa 774 (Hand 26). Another Pylos name prob. from non-Greek stock showing a labiovelar sign is *a-ri-qa* PY Jn 832.14 (Hand 2), MN /Arisg^{w}as/ Ἀρίσβας; variant *a-ri-qo* PY An 723.2 (Hand 1) PN.

There remain a few words for artifacts, for which we still have no Greek interpretation:

]*qa-ka-na-pi*[KN Xf 4487.b (written under *e-ri-ko*), instr. plur. for parts of a wheel; although the suffix *-anā* may point to a Greek noun of instrument, *qa-k*... does not look like a verbal root and a non-Greek source seems preferable.

qa-ra-de-ro PY Vn 879.3.4 (Class ii) *e-to-ki-ja q.*; *pa-ke-te-re q.*, gen. or abl., a building element or a type of wood? See BAUMBACH 1972, 390f. For the termination cf. ἀσφόδελος.

qa-ra-to-ro PY Ta 709.2 (Hand 2) /sk^{w}alat^{h}ron/ 'fire-, oven-rake', cf. σπάλαθρον Poll. 7.22, σπάλαυθρον, σκάλαυθρον Hsch. loanword according to BEEKES 1969, 193; cf. BEEKES 2010 *s.v.*[47]

This examination of all the forms which include syllabograms of the *q*-series[48] leads to the conclusion that there were labiovelar-like sounds in the Pre-Greek language(s)[49] and that these were represented in Linear A by a special series of signs (though we do not find a sign for labiovelar plus the *o*-vowel, since the

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[47] Not included therefore in OLSEN 1988, who quotes other similar technical terms with no certain etymology as κμέλεθρον 'balk' and μέλαθρον 'rafter'. However, it may represent a canonical formation with the suffix added to a verbal stem, cf. σκάλλω, if from **sk^{w}elh$_{2}$-* (although from **skelh$_{1}$-* in *LIV* 553 [*IEW* 927], **skelh$_{2/3}$-* BEEKES 2010); if so, the word could be moved to the PIE section.

[48] There remains a number of words containing signs of the *q*-series which cannot easily be classified in the categories examined and are left as a residual stock. At Tiryns, Cb 4.1, an obscure *e-qe* follows]*jǫ-qe*, preceding BOS: connective *-qe*?? At Pylos we have: *qa-ko-jo* PY Vn 34.6 (Class iii), MN in the gen., obscure, but cf. βακόν· πεσόν, Κρῆτες Hsch. and ἄβακής; *qa-sa-re-ǫ* PY Sa 755 (*-ǫ* written over erased *jǫ* seems to imply the existence of an intervocalic aspiration) (Hand 26), MN in the gen. (owner of a *wo-ka*), compound in /°ārēs/ with a first element /kwās°/??; *a-qi-zo-we* PY Aq 64.14 (Hand 21), MN nom., name in *-went-s* or in *-ōwēs* but basis or first member obscure; *re-qo-we* PY Jn 845.3 (Hand 2), MN nom. /Re-qōwēs/ 'having *re-q*... ears', cf. ἀμφώης and **λέβος cf. λοβός?;]*qa-te*[PY Jn 881.4 (Hand 2) perhaps a place-name in the loc., obscure; *qo-re-po-ụ-ti* PY Fn 324.2 (Class iii), MN dat., obscure, cf. *o*-grade form **g^{w}orh$_{3}$-*, and compare Βορέας; *qo-wo-ṣị*[or *qo-wo* PY Jo 438.17 (Class i). Moreover, two further names are attested at Mycenae: *qa-ra-we-ta* MY V 662.1 (Hand 61) MN, obscure /G^{w}rawestās/ (cf. βράγος· ἕλος Hsch. if γ stands for *ϝ*) and *qa-ru-ko* MY Au 657.9+ (Hand 62) MN /K^{wh}arukos/ (cf. Φάρυκος Pol. 9.34 *LGPN* III.A, 444). The Thebes tablets offer an obscure form *qị-qe-o*[Xp 204.1 *v.l. kǫ-qe-o*[, but both readings are obscure. At Knossos, there are some other names with labiovelar:]*qa-ka* F 452.2, MN nom. or dat., obscure; *qe-wa-ra* Mc 4459.B (Hand 132), prob. MN nom.; *qa-to-no-ro* As(2) 1516.7 (Hand 101) nom., Fh 5463 (Hand 141) dat., MN poss. involving a cluster /t$^{(h)}$n/ or cf. βάθος; *qo-pa-ra-*[X 7571, MN dat., obscure; *di-qa-ra*[Ap 628.2 (Hand 103), WN; *ka-ta-ḍǫ-qe* Da 1091*v*.2 (Hand 117), obscure (connective *-qe*?); W/MN]*qẹ-ra* L(5) 7380.b (Hand 209); *ra-qa-ra* KN Xe 7437.3 (Hand 103) M/WN, /Lag^{w}rā(s)/ 'Impetuous', cf. λάβρος, Λάβρᾶξ and Λαβρέας *LGPN* III.A, 264; and *ra-qa-ṛą-to*[KN X 8212, obscure, without context, if a compound MN. More interesting is the word *ke-ma-qe-me* which is part of an obscure gloss in KN Uf(2) 839.a (Hand 122). In *ke-ma-qe-me me-ra* the word *me-ra* could be interpreted as μέλανς or μέλαν; the preceding word, however, defies interpretation.

[49] Cf. also KUIPER 1968.

sign **32* = *qo* of Linear B [𐀴] is apparently not found in Linear A). This may explain why the Greek labiovelars came to be written in Linear B with a series of their own. The alternative solution, viz. to note the labiovelars with two syllabograms such as *ke-we* or *ka-wa*, was rejected in view of the preexisting model which was also applied to the monomorphemic sequences of the *-kw-* type.

§17.3.2.2. The *z*-series

The syllabograms of the so-called *z*-series, **17* (𐀸, from Linear A 𐁁), **20* (𐀺, from Linear A 𐁄 or rather no. 312 𐁄[50]) and **74* (𐀹, from Linear A 𐁅), are transliterated as *za*, *zo*, and *ze* respectively, even if there is no general agreement about the nature of the consonant. As usual, the voiced consonants are not distinguished from their voiceless counterparts.

The *z*-series[51] represents the continuation in Mycenaean Greek of the following clusters or sequences of sounds:

VOICELESS

/#kyV/

**k̂i-* demonstrative prefix plus **wet-* 'year': 'this year' *za-we-te* KN Fh 5451.a (Hand 141), Ga 5088 (= 457).a; PY Ma 225.2a (Hand 2); *za-we-te-ra* KN Ga 461.a, Ga(1) 518.a (Hand 135?); *za-we-te-ro* KN Gg 5637.2; *za-we*[KN X 658, cf. Att. τῆτες, Ion. σῆτες; the vowel /a/ after the Mycenaean reflex of **k̂i-* in this word was explained as analogical to the so far unattested Mycenaean word derived from PIE **k̂i-āmeron* 'today', cf. Hom. σήμερον, Dor. σᾶμερον, Att. τήμερον, but a more plausible reconstruction is **k̂y-ā-wetes* with a frozen 'perlative instrumental' in **-eh₂-ehₗ*, cf. VINE 2009a.

/VkyV/, /CkyV/

**kʰalk-* adjective *ka-za* KN Sp 4452 allegro form **kʰalk-yā* 'of bronze', presumably from **kʰalk-iā*; ?all. PN *ka-zo-de* TH Av 104.1 if **Kʰalk-yon-de*, allegro form not attested in later Greek, cf. Χαλκίς, Χαλκίοικος (on χάλκιος). See Myc. *ka-ko*, alph. Gr. χαλκός.

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[50] The sign AB *20*, attested once in Linear A on the tablet fragment KH 57.2 perhaps as a logogram followed by the unit, is not included by J.-P. Olivier in his latest tables of Linear A signs (OLIVIER 2012) and we assume that it may now be taken as a form of A 304. On the other hand, on the tablet HT 38.3, the Linear A ancestor of the logogram TELA (with small strokes for the loom weights at the end of the tassels) is surcharged with AB 81 and A 312 respectively, and it is likely that both instances correspond to the Mycenaean occurrences of TELA+*KU* and TELA+*ZO*. The conclusion that A 312 could actually represent the ancestor of Linear B **20* is suggestive. If so, a Linear A name *zo²-ta²* appears on HT 10b.2, as a MN *zo-ta* recurs in the Mycenaean tablets from Knossos.

[51] An early complete survey can be found in LEJEUNE 1958b, although the present discussion was done directly on the data.

**kak-* *ka-zo-e* PY Va 1323 (Class ii), comparative */kak-yos-es/ 'worse' qualifying axes (*a-ko-so-ne*). Not attested in later Greek where we find the innovated κακίων.

**sūk-* *su-za* KN F(2) 841.5, Gv 862.1; PY Er 880.6 (Hand 24) allegro form */sūk-yā/ 'fig tree'. Cf. alph. Gr. συκέα, συκῆ.

/Vk^{w}yV/

**sek^{w}-* ?compound *a-o-ze-jo* PY Na 588 (Hand 1). It has been interpreted as a derivative of **a-o-zo* < **sm̥-sok^{w}-yos* qualifying the PN *e-ro$_2$-ne*, loc., cf. **ἄοσσος 'helper' posited as the source of the denominative ἀοσσέω 'help'. Obviously we cannot be certain.

/VkwyV/

**(h$_1$)eḱw-* *i-za-a-to-mo-i* PY Fn 50.8 (Class iii) fast speech (not attested in later Greek) */ikw-yā°/ 'chariot-'.

These developments can be summarized as follows:

(-)kwj-
(-)k^{w}j-
(-)kj- ┘ palatalized k', k^{j} > Mycenaean *z*-sign > Hom. σ-/-σσ- and Att. -τ-/ττ- (most of the examples are not attested in later Greek and could be Mycenaean instances of allegro speech).

To this evidence we may add a non-Greek word *me-za-na* PY Cn 3.1 (Hand 1), Sh 736 (Class ii), probably a goddess' name, continued in later Greek as Μεσσήνη, derivative Μεσσηνία.[52]

It is worth noting that the *z*-series can also render stops where the palatalization was secondarily triggered not by a following *yod*, but by a preceding /s/, as correctly shown by J. Méndez Dosuna.[53]

There are clear cases of an alternative spelling *z*/*k* for the voiceless dorsal stops:

a-re-i-ze-we-i TH Of 37.1 (Hand 303) MN in the dat. /Arehi-skewehi/, cf. σκεῦος Palmer 1979, 278. *a-no-ze-we* PY Cn 600.13 (Hand 21) MN nominative /Anorskewēs/, cf. *a-no-ke-we* PY An 192.13 (Hand 22), and *a-no-zo-jo* KN Ak(2) 627.1 (Hand 108),

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[52] The MN dat. PY *me-za-*[*wo-*]*ne* An 610.1 (Hand 1), *me-za-ne* Fn 50.4 (Class iii) if *me-za-*<*wo-*>*ne*, and *me-za-wo-ni* Un 138.5 (Hand 42), cf. the nom. *me-za-wo* attested at Knossos Sc 222 (Hand 124), could somehow be related to that name.

[53] Cf. Méndez Dosuna 1991-1992, with parallels from German and Walloon French. Such an alternation could have been extended beyond the dorsal series and have concerned the labiovelar series as well. There is no Mycenaean evidence for alternating spellings *z*.../*q*..., but this phenomenon could explain the different treatments of Att. σβέννυμι vs Arc. ζείναμεν /dzēnā-men/ in first millennium Greek (cf. García Ramón 1982), probably of different date: the Arc. form would preserve the Mycenaean palatalized result triggered by the preceding /s/ ([dzēs-nā-] < **s-g^{w}es-nā-*), whereas Att. σβέννυμι (< **s-g^{w}es-nū-*) would contrarily show the post-Mycenaean final bilabial development of the labiovelar, after the palatalization was inhibited by the preceding /s/. On the PIE root **g^{w}es-* 'extinguish' see recently Jasanoff 2008.

MN in the gen., which could be compound names with a first member /anor°/. In the second case we may reconstruct */Anor-g^{w}yos/, cf. Ἀνδρόβιος *LGPN* III.B, 34. On the other hand, *zo-wa*, KN Ra(2) 984.2+ (Hand 127), could possibly be an action noun /skowā/ 'equipment', cf. σκευή with analogical *e*-vowel from σκευάζω, σκεῦος. The original character of action noun is preserved in prefixed compounds like ἐπισκευή, κατασκευή, etc. Although the semantic development is not impossible, it is however difficult to see the term as referring to a kind of dagger, as required by the context.

a-ze-ti-ri-ja KN Ap 694.3, E 777*v*.1, Ln 1568 *lat. inf.* .a (Hand 103), M 683.1a (Hand 103), Od(1) 544.b (Hand 103), Xe 657.1 (Hand 103?), X 7737, all of them at Knossos but alternating with the Mainland forms *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* PY Aa 85 (Hand 4), 717 (Hand 1); *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* PY Fn 187.15 (Hand 2), Un 219.4 (Hand 15) /*a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$ PY Aa 815 (Hand 1), Ab 564+ (Hand 21); gen. *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$*-o* PY Ad 290+; the *k*-forms are also used at Thebes Of 36 (Hand 303), and in Mycenae: cf. *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* in MY Fo 101.10 (Hand 53) or *a-ke-ti-ri*[Oe 119 (Hand 52); female professional title /askētri^{j}a/ ἀσκήτρια 'decorator, finisher' cf. ἀσκέω. It would be possible to reconstruct a verbal adjective in MY X 508 *a-*]*ze-ta* /askētai/ 'finished (textiles)', cf. ἀσκητός for wool *Od.* 4.134, but a *z*-spelling is not expected at Mycenae. On the other hand, two Knossos words may be mentioned: *a-ze-to* /askētos/ or /askētoi/ X 766.1, 7628, and MN *a-ze-ta* /Askētās/ Dv 1466.B (Hand 117), cf. ἀσκητής, and Ἄσκετος *LGPN* III.B, 74.

a$_3$*-zo-ro-qe* KN Ch 1029+ (Hand 110), coat description of cattle /aisk^{h}ros/ 'ugly?' PALMER 1979, 278. The obscure]*a*$_3$*-ze* KN X 9742 could stand for a compound in °αισχής, but later this type is not attested; *a*$_3$*-zo-wo*[PY Cn 485.5 (Hand 1), prob. a PN, could be a further instance (αἰσχο° and °*wo-wo*?) of this stem.

There are in addition two doubtful cases:

za-ma-e-wi-ja PY Jn 829.18 (Hand 2), Ma 393.1 (Hand 2), Vn 493.3 (Class i), PN for the region of **za-ma-e-wa*, in fact a derivative from a name in *-ēus* formed in turn on **za-ma*, an *-as* neuter? Note that a neuter *ka-ma* is actually attested at Pylos in An 724.11 (Hand 1), Ea 28 (Hand 43), Eb 159.B+ (Hand 41), Ep 613.1+ (Hand 1), Un 718.11-11a (Hand 24) along with the related name in *-ēus ka-ma-e-u* in Eb 152. A+ (Hand 41), Ep 613.3+ (Hand 1); plur. *ka-ma-e-we* An 261*v*.9 (Hand 1), Ed 236.1+ (Hand 1), Ep 539.5+ (Hand 1), Un 616 *lat. sin.* (Hand 1). If we are dealing with a variant spelling as in the former pair, the basic noun would begin with /s-/ and would dispose of any relationship with the gloss καμάν· τὸν ἀγρόν. Κρῆτες.

ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na[PY Na 70 (Hand 1) PN, if a variant spelling of *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na* PY Nn 228.3 (Hand 1), a juxtaposition (?) /K^{h}ehi^{j}ās-krannā/, perhaps 'Fountain of the Hole', or a compound /K^{h}ehi^{j}ā-krannā/ 'Hole-spring', cf. χειά, Ion. χειή 'hole (of serpents)', *Il.* 22.93. If the equation were right, it would imply that secondary palatalization could also be triggered by a following front vowel.

VOICED

/#g^{w}yV/

**g^{w}eyh*$_3$*-* */g^{w}yō-wos, -wā/ ζωϝός, ζωϝᾶ, as a personal name: *zo-wo* PY An 519.2 (Hand 1), abbreviated form of a compound */G^{w}yōwo°/, e.g. Ζώβιος *LGPN* III.A, 188; derivative MN *zo-wi-jo* KN V(7) 1523.4b (Hand 101); PY Cn 40.3

(Hand 21); *zo-wa* KN Nc 4473 (Hand 133), X 766.1; TH Av 100.4 (Hand 304), Fq(2) 240.5+ (Hand 305) is probably a personal name, but the homographic *zo-wa* in KN 'sword' tablets is most probably the name for a dagger.

/VgyV/

$*h_2eyĝ$- adjective *a_3-za* PY Ub 1318.7 (Hand 32) allegro speech (not attested in later Greek, cf. αἰγέη) */aig-yā/ 'goat (skin)'.

$*meĝ$- comparative *$*meĝ$-yos-* 'larger': *me-zo* KN Ak(1) 610.3+ (Hand 103), Ak(2) 636.2+ (Hand 108), Lc(2) 504.B (Hand 113); *me-zo-a_2* PY Sh 733+ (Class ii); *me-zo-e* KN Ai(3) 824.1, Ak(1) 610.2+ (Hand 103), Ak(2) 615.2.3+ (Hand 108), Ak(3) 784.2+ (Hand 102), Gg 5637 *lat. inf.*, L(7) 471.a (Hand 211); PY Ta 641.2 (Hand 2), cf. Ion. μέζων.

A couple of words are obscure but may have belonged here:

(i) *a-ro-za* KN L(2) 5909.1[a].2+ and *a-ro-zo* KN Lc(1) 536.B+ (Hand 103), adjective of obscure meaning (the textile context would favour an interpretation as a derivative in *-yo-* on /a-rog-o-/ 'unstained', cf. Skt. *ni-rāga, NIL* 629, on *$*reg$-*, cf. ῥογεύς 'dyer' in turn based on an action noun */róg-os/ 'stain'), perhaps used as a personal name ('Pale') in TH Fq(2) 221.1 (Hand 305).

(ii) MN *pu-za-ko* PY Cn 328.14 (Hand 1) may come from */P[h]ug-y-akos/, cf. φύζακες· ἕλαφοι. Other interpretations are also possible (/P[h]uskakos/, etc.).

/RgyV/

$*werĝ$- verbal present *$*worĝ-ye/o-$* < *$*wr̥ĝ-ye/o-$*: *-wo-ze* */worgyei/ PY Ea 309 (Hand 43), Ep 539.7+ (Hand 1), Eb 156.1a+ (Hand 41); *wo-zo* */worgyōn/ PY Eb 862.B (Hand 41); infinitive *wo-ze-e* */worgyehen/ PY Ep 704.7 (Hand 1), *wo-zo-e* PY Eb 338.B (Hand 41) (mistake for *wo-ze-e*); *wo-zo-me-na* */worgyomenā/ KN So(2) 4438 and *wo-zo-me-no* */worgyomenō/ So(2) 4433.b (Hand 131); *wo-zo-te* */worgyontei/ or */worgyontes/ PY Ed 236.2 and Ep 539.5 (Hand 1); negative *(o-u-)wo-ze* PY Ep 704.7 (Hand 1); *(o-)wo-ze* PY Eb 338.B (Hand 41), cf. ἔρδω and ῥέζω 'to do', innovated presents from *$*werg$-ye/o-* and *$*wreg$-ye/o-*.

/VdyV/

$*ped$- /°ped-ya/ (a delocatival /°pedi-ā/ would explain the *e*-vowel, but the /a/ is expected to be short) '-footed': *e-ne-wo-pe-za* PY Ta 713.1+ (Hand 2) 'with nine legs'; *to-pe-za* KN V(2) 280.5 (Hand 124); PY Ta 642.1+ (Hand 2); dual *to-pe-zo* PY Ta 715.3 (Hand 2) 'with three (?) legs > table'; *we-pe-za* PY Ta 713.2 (Hand 2) 'with six legs'.

$*wreh_2d$- reduced *$*wr(h_2)d$-* */wrid-yā/ 'root': *wi-ri-za* KN Od 2026.1, 8202.A, X 44.A; PY Un 249.2 (Class ii), ϝριζα, cf. Lesb. βρίσδα (the *i*-vocalism is puzzling but see VINE 1999).

A number of words are obscure but may have belonged here:

(i) PN *ke-re-za* PY Aa 762+ (Hand 1), Ab 217.B+ (Hand 21), Ad 318+ (Hand 23), a Pylos quarter (?) without satisfactory rendering: /K[h]lēd-yā/, a derivative on χλῆδος· ὁ σωρὸς τῶν λίθων, is merely a possibility.

(ii) MN *ke-zo* PY Cn 328.10 (Hand 1), if < */Keh$_2$d-yos/ (< *$\hat{g}^h$*ed*-?) 'Trusty', cf. κεδνός 'careful, trusty'.

(iii) *ri-za* HV[54] X 4.3, not *scriptio brevis* of *wi-ri-za* (*pace* ARAVANTINOS – VASILOGAMVROU 2012, 53), but possibly allegro speech of an adjective from PIE root **sleiĝ-* 'slide' */sliĝ-ya/ 'smearing stuff', cf. λίγδην, λίγειος, λιγρόν.

/#yV/

**yeh$_2$-* *za-mi-jo* KN As(2) 1517*v*.2 (Hand 102?); PY An 129.4 (Hand 22); (*o*-)*za-mi*[PY An 37.1 (Hand 1); presumably adjective in *-iyo-* built on an action noun **yā-mos* 'inquiry, seeking, pursuing'. The adjective's meaning is obscure, either 'sought after, wanted' or 'fined'. For the first meaning see the verb δίζημαι 'inquire, seek for', and for the second Greek ζημία (ποινή) 'penalty, fine'. Cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 1993 and 1999a; BEEKES 2010 *s.v.* Ζητήρ.

**yes-* verb **yes-ō* ζέω: (*o*-)*ze-to* */-yesto(i)/ 'Thus K. boiled/fermented' PY Vn 130.1 (Hand 1), cf. MELENA 1984, 615 note 8; *ze-so-me-no* */yes(s)omenōi/ 'to be boiled' PY Un 267.4 (Hand 1); action noun: **yos-ā* *zo-a* KN Fh 343+ (Hand 141), Xd 8635 (Hand 124), X 9465.a 'boiling', cf. ζόη; second member of compound: °*yos-os*: *a-re-pa-zo-o* */aleip^{h}a-yohos/ (< */aleip^{h}n̥°/) PY Un 249.1 (Class ii), 267.2 (Hand 1) and *a-re-po-zo-o* */aleip^{h}o-yohos/ (< */aleip^{h}n̥°/) 'unguent-boiler' PY Ea 812+ (Hand 43), Fg 374 (Hand 1); the later °ζοος in φυσίζοος belongs however to ζειαί 'emmer wheat'.

**yeh$_3$s-* cf. ζώννυμι: *e-pi-zo-ta* */epi-yōstai/ 'suitable to be girt on' (cf. alph. Gr. περι-ζώνιον 'dagger worn on the girdle'), a verbal adjective qualifying *zo-wa* in KN Ra(2) 984.2+ (Hand 127), HV Rb 1 and *v*. (in a different hand); *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* PY Un 443.2 (Hand 6) */p^{h}orēno-yōstēri^{j}āi/, '(wool) for the girdling of the bearers (?)', cf. ζωστήριος.

**yerk-*? *e-wi-su-zo-ko* KN Se 965.A+ (Hand 127), possessive compound with /°yorkos/ 'having equal roe (decoration)', cf. ἴυρκες· αἶγες ἀγρίαι, ὑστριχίδες, and ζόρξ, δορκάς, δόρκος 'stag' (MELENA 1987a, 424-428).

**yewg-* *ze-u-ke-si* */yeugessi/ 'for pairs' cf. the abbreviation *ZE* for ζεῦγος 'pair' PY Ub 1318.4 (Hand 32); *ze-u-ke-u-si* */yeugēusi/ 'for yokers' PY Fn 50.9 (Class iii), 79.10 (Hand 45), cf. ζευγεύς.

These developments can be summarized as follows:

#jV-
(-)gj-
(-)dj- ┘ palatalized d', d^j, g', g^j > Mycenaean *z*-sign > first millennium Greek ζ.[55]

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[54] HV refers to the new Linear B fragments from Aghios Vasileios, Sparta: texts from the Lecture at the Archaeological Society, Athens, 27th April 2009, by A. Vasilogamvrou and V. Aravantinos, cf. ARAVANTINOS - VASILOGAMVROU 2012.

[55] First millennium Greek ζ also indicates the clusters /sd/ [zd], which are still preserved in Mycenaean, cf. *te-qa-de* /T^{h}ēg^{w}āns-de/ vs the later Θήβαζε.

To this evidence should be added a non-Greek PN **za-ku-to* continued in later Greek as Ζάκυνθος, attested in the adjectives *za-ku-si-ja* PY Sa 751+ (Hand 26) and *za-ku-si-jo* PY An 610.12 (Hand 1), the latter used as a personal name as in the dat. of MY Oe 122 (Hand 55), cf. the unassibilated Ζακύνθιος *LGPN* III.A, 186, III.B, 175. It is also the case of *ze-pu$_2$-ra$_3$* PY Aa 61 (Hand 4); gen. plur. *ze-pu$_2$-ra-o* PY Ad 664 (Hand 23), perhaps an ethnic /dʒep^{h}urrai/ 'women from Halikarnassos'[56]; *ze-pu$_2$-ro* PY Ea 56 (Hand 43); *ze-pu*[KN Xd <333> (Hand 124?), man's name, cf. ζέφυρος 'NW wind', of uncertain etymology (< PIE **h$_3$yeb^h-*? Beekes 2010, 499). The same is true of *za-ki-ri-jo* KN Vc(1) 108 (Hand 124-s), an ethnic used as a MN; this word could be related to *za-ka-ṛą*[now attested at Pylos (on the newly found fragment Xa 1582), cf. ζάγρη· βόθρος, λάπαθον Hsch. or even Ζάγκλη.[57]

The remaining evidence concerns personal names.[58] Personal names with initial *z-* are exclusively attested at Knossos,[59] and may be of non-Greek stock; on the other hand names with *-z-* in internal position are attested both at Knossos, where most of them may be of non-Greek stock,[60] and at Pylos;[61] z-signs

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[56] As Tom Palaima kindly points out, Halikarnassos (actual Bodrum) was early named Ζεφυρία (Strabo 14.12.16), poss. '(Town) of the NW Wind', in view of the prevailing winds.

[57] Other Pylos place-names evidence the use of *za*: *za-e-to-ro* PY An 610.12+ (Hand 1), a name in -τρο-, -θρο- or -θλο- (Olsen 1988), but built on an unknown basis (a loanword is likely);]*ząą-te-ǫ* PY An 233.1 (Hand 3) is obscure.

[58] *e-ze-to* KN Od(1) 563.1 (Hand 103) is obscure but probably not a MN, since the wool allowance of 14 units recorded is better explained as the quota for the two *te-pa* ascribed to the MNs on line .2; if so, the word, if not a verbal form, may be a wool description like the following *to-ro-qo*.

[59] *ze-ne-si-wi-jo* M(1) 720.b (Hand 103); *za-mi-so* Uf(1) 111.b (Hand 124-R);]*za-ra-ro* Dd 1429.B (Hand 117), Dk(2) 1070.B (Hand 119), X 8634 (= 5639) (Hand 118?); *ze-me*(*-qe*) L 588.1; *ze-ro* KN Da 5218 (Hand 117), As <4493>.3; *ẓę-wa-so* KN X <2002>; *zo-do-so* KN As 40.3 (Hand 101); *zo-ṭą*[KN L(2) 5924.A (Hand 103), *zo-ta*(*-qe*) KN L 588.2.

[60] *di-za-so* Dv 1505 (Hand 117), Pp 493 (Hand 119), and poss. Dv 1506 (Hand 117); *i-za-re* B(5) 805.3 (Hand 104); *pa-za-ti* Dl(1) 948.B (Hand 118) (*pa-ze* KN V[1] 114+ [Hand 124], nom., is perhaps a shortened name); *pi-za-ra* X 1801 (= 36 bis).1; *sa-za-ro* B(5) 799v.1 (Hand 104); *sa-ze-ro* Db 1262.B (Hand 117); *ta-za-ro* Ch 896 (Hand 110), Db 1097.B (Hand 117), V(3) 503.1 (Hand 115).

[61] A number of Pylos personal names resists a Greek interpretation: *a-qi-zo-we* Aq 64.14 (Hand 21), nom., either a name in *-ēs*, i.e. a compound of a neuter °*zo-wo*, or a *-went*-derivative, but we have no interpretation for its first member *a-qi-zo*°; *a$_2$-zo-qi-jo* Un 1193.4 (Class i); *a-ẓǫ*[Cn 485.10 (Hand 1) could be a compound name with /°g^{w}i̯os/, but the first member remains obscure;]*e-we-za-no* An 1281.7 (Hand 12), nom., may include a first member *e-w*° εὖ- 'well', and a second member °*e-za-no* which in turn would be a compound with °*anōr*?, but remains obscure; *e-zo-wo* Cn 40.11+ (Hand 21) (also attested at Knossos Xe 5900.2 [Hand 103]); *ko-za-ro* Jn 431.17 (Hand 2), nom., is obscure. The WN or female clan description *ku-ṛi-na-ze-ja* Fn 187.7 (Hand 2) may be a derivative built on a personal name **ku-ri-na-zo*, cf. *ku-ri-sa-to* An 5.7+. If this is a compound both members *ku-ri*° and °*na-zo* are obscure, but for the latter cf. the bisyllabic names (see below note 62). *o-pa-ro-ze* Un 1321.4 (Hand 34) is obscure, since

found in personal names in final position may reflect the outcome of a voiced apical or dorsal followed by the adjective suffix *-yo-*, as in πεζός 'on foot' or χάλαζα 'hail' in later Greek. However, for the majority of the frequent disyllabic[62] or less frequent trisyllabic[63] names attested at Knossos it is not possible to provide a Greek interpretation.

The sources of Mycenaean *z*-signs are therefore:

Non-Greek later attested as -σσ-
(-)kwj-
(-)k^{w}j-
(-)kj- through palatalized k', k^{j} > voiceless consonant (see below)
#jV-
(-)gj-
(-)dj- through palatalized g', g^{j}, d', d^{j} > voiced consonant (see below)
Non-Greek later attested as ζ.

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the large spaces between the four signs do not allow us to consider it as one 'word'; *se-we-ri-wo-wa-zo* Fn 324.4 (Class iii), dat., could be a compound cf. *se-we-ri-ko-jo* gen., MN in Sa 753, but a second member *-wo-wa-zo* or *-wa-zo* lacks interpretation; *ta-zo-te-ja*[PY Vn 851.11 (Hand 12) dat., WN (user of *de-mi-ni-ja* 'bedding'), is clearly a derivative of a personal name **ta-zo-to*, cf.]*ẓọ-to* PY Fr 1255.a (Class ii), also obscure; *to-ze-u* An 1281.8 (Hand 12), nom.

62 *da-zo* As(1) 5549.2 (Hand 103), Ra(1) 1547 (Hand 126); *di-zo* As(2) 1520.5 (Hand 105), V(3) 479.1 (Hand 115), V(7) 1523.4b (Hand 101); *je-zo* Db 1274.B (Hand 117), Dv 5989.B (Hand 117);]*jo-zo* Np(2) 855 (Hand 134); *ki-zo* Ap 5748.1 (Hand 103); *ri-zo* As(2) 1517.9 (Hand 102?), As(2) 1520.4 (Hand 105), B(5) 800.4 (Hand 104), V(7) 1523.5b (Hand 101), V(3) 7524.2 (Hand 115), but also in PY An 261.9 (Hand 43); *pu-zo* Ap 5748.2 (Hand 103); *qi-zo* Dd 1291.B (Hand 117); *sa-zo* As(2) 1520.10 (Hand 105), Dv 5301 (Hand 117) cf. *sa-*65* Ap 639.10 (Hand 103)?; *si-za* As(2) 1520.6 (Hand 105);]*ta-za* Db 1247 (Hand 117); *tu-zo* Ap 639.1 (Hand 103); C 7698. To these the Mycenae *qo-zo* Oe 118.1 (Hand 51) could be added. Moreover, **pa-zo* gen. *pa-zo-jo* MID Wv 5.β (and Wv 1.β if *ro-zo* is a mistake for {*pa*}*-zo*) could be instances of this type of name at Midea.

63 *na-ki-zo* Wm 8499.b (Hand 103), cf. poss. Νάρκισσος *LGPN* III.A, 310;]*-na-zo* Ce 156.1 (Hand 124); *qi-ja-zo* Dv 1500.b (Hand 117), Xe 5899.1 (Hand 103); *ra-wi-zo* Db 1245.B (Hand 117); *ri-ma-zo* Da 1415.B (Hand 117); *ti-mi-za* Df 1121.B (Hand 117), Dk(2) 1076.B (Hand 119);]*ti-za* Dl(1) 7141.B (Hand 118). Names with four syllables are also attested:]*-di-mi-zo*[Nc 4485 (Hand 133),]*ṇọ-di-mi-zo-jo*[F(2) 841.3 and *ma-mi-di-zo* C(4) 911.1 (Hand 111) seem to include a cluster *dm*/*md*; it is better to avoid a Greek interpretation of *du-pu$_2$-ra-zo* Da 1173 (Hand 117) and V(3) 479.1 (Hand 115) (cf. also the fragmentary]*ra-zo*[KN C 6021.2), since it seems attested as *da-pu$_2$-ra-zo* on a vase of Cretan origin (EL Z 1.2). A few personal names at Knossos are difficult to interpret: *a-ta-ze-u* KN As(2) 1516.10 (Hand 101) MN nom., a member of the *qa-si-re-wi-ja* at Knossos. Possibly from non-Greek stock *a-ze-o* KN Dv 1226.B (Hand 117) MN nom., shepherd's name, obscure. *da-i-ze-to* KN Da 1317 (Hand 117) MN nom., shepherd's name, a compound with first member *da-i*° /Dahi-/ or /Dāhi-/ is possible, but °*ze-to* defies interpretation ('Ardent-in-battle', GEORGIEV 1996, 114, is unlikely).]*pị-a-ze-ra*[KN Xe 5905.1 (Hand 103), to be read *o-*]*pị a-ze-ra*['chez A.'?]*ra-ze*[KN Wb 6058.2 is obscure, but a personal name is not excluded.

The voiceless counterpart is continued in first millennium Greek as Hom. -σ-/-σσ- and Att. -τ-/ττ-, whereas the voiced counterpart is continued as ζ. The question is what the Mycenaean *z*-spelling, which corresponds to earlier voiced palatalized *g'*, g^j, *d'*, d^j and voiceless palatalized *k'*, k^j, actually represents. Palatalized stops are excluded,[64] since the evidence for the voiced elements shows that a change in the place of articulation of velars and apicals had already occurred. A first merger may therefore be postulated for the palatal stage, when d^j and g^j merged into a single voiced palatal phoneme (just as t^j[65] and k^j merged into its voiceless counterpart). Strictly speaking then the Mycenaean *z*-series could stand for a palatal stop (voiceless and voiced), but it is more likely that a 'depalatalization' (or a full-palatalization) had actually occurred prompting the creation of two affricates. *z* would then represent two affricates, /ʧ/ and /ʤ/, as the result of full-palatalization.

Finally, we stress that, though the *z*-series is clearly part of the basic Linear B syllabary, it showed originally (i.e., at the time of the borrowing) the same structure as the other series of 'yodized' signs which are included in the additional syllabary of Linear B and indicate sounds originally coarticulated with *yod*. Only the absence of alternative spellings (C*i*-*j*V) strengthens the idea that such a structure was already obsolete and justifies the treatment of the series as part of the basic signary.

§17.3.3. *The additional Linear B syllabograms*

In addition to the basic Mycenaean syllabary discussed above there is a supernumerary set of syllabograms, whose sporadic use was probably prompted by the personal preferences of certain writers to represent phonic sequences that could have been perfectly spelled with the basic signary. This 'purist' set currently includes fourteen signs but this figure will probably be increased by new transliterations of still 'undeciphered' signs.

The additional syllabary shows a complex structure which depends on the script history and its relation to the evolution of Greek consonantism: we could hypothesize that, when Linear B was borrowed from Linear A, a scarcely represented pattern based on triphonemic sequences of the CRV type (where R stands for the resonants /w/ and /y/) was adopted and partly developed in the later history of the Linear B script, without reaching the status of a complete series: see above Fig. 17.5.

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[64] See HART 1968 for arguments in favour of palatalized plosives.

[65] The sequences of (-)*ty*- were eliminated earlier yielding a geminated sibilant, as in **toty-os* > /tossos/ *to-so*.

It is possible to arrange some of them into two general labialized and yodized groups:

	ă	ĕ	ĭ	ŏ	ŭ
labialized	*86 = *dwa*??	*dwe*		*dwo*	
	-nwa	*83 = *nwe*??			
	*82 = *twa*??	*twe*	*64 = *twi*??	*two*	
yodized		*pje > pte*			
	ra_2			ro_2	
	*92 = *sja*??				
				*79 = wo_2??	

Fig. 17.9. The additional Linear B syllabary: labialized and yodized groups.

Other signs of the additional syllabary are attempts at representing diphthongs with an *a*-vowel; we may speculate that their creation was prompted by the need to keep the diphthongs distinct from the sequences created by the vocalization of the prefixes (privative) */n̥-/ and (copulative) */sm̥-/ before /hi-/ and /hu-/ and by a tendency to multiply the signs with *a*-vowel because of their greater frequency.

For the *a*-diphthongs, the facts are tabulated below and illustrated in the following sections:

	A-DIPHTHONGS	
consonant	+V+*yod*	+V+*wau*
Ø	*ai*, a_3 /ai/	*au*, a_4 /au/
r-	ra_3 /lai, rai/	
??	a_5?? /ˣai/	

The syllabograms for the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ could be considered as components of the basic signary and included there, but not the other two.

§17.3.3.1. The *a*-diphthongs series

§17.3.3.1.1. *The syllabogram* *43 ai *or* a_3

The sign **43* (𐀃) transliterated a_3 or *ai* appears in word-initial position at Knossos, Pylos, Thebes, Midea and Mycenae (its absence at Tiryns and Khania is not significant given the small number of documents). It also appears painted on Inscribed Stirrup Jars. It is a Linear B innovation (but see note 114).

The following is a list of examples of the use of **43* in INITIAL position arranged by roots:[66]

/aid-/

a_3-du-ṛọ[KN B(5) 9695.2 (Hand 104), MN perhaps /Aidullos/, cf. αἰδώς. The morphology of the WN *a_3-du-wo-na* KN Ap 769.1, is obscure: /Aidu^{w}onā/, /Aidwonā/, or /Aiduwoinā/.

/aig(i)-/, frequently linked with alph. Gr. αἴξ, αἰγός 'goat' (but cf. also alph. Gr. αἶγες 'waves')

a_3-ka-na-jo PY Un 1185.5 (Hand 1), description or name of a liquid commodity, perhaps /aiganai̯o-/, cf. *Études*, 215.

a_3-ka-ra KN L(1) 567.2 (Hand 103), WN in the dat. (*o-pi*), /Aiglā/, cf. Αἴγλη *LGPN* III.A, 17.

a_3-ke-ta KN Dv 1139.b (Hand 117), MN, /Aig-es-tās/, with °*ed-* < **h*$_1$*ed-* 'eat'.

a_3-ke-u PY Ta 641.1 (Hand 2), obscure description of a tripod, related either to αἴξ or to αἶγες.

a_3-ḳẹ-wa-ta KN Da 5205 (Hand 117) and *a_3-ke-wa-to* KN Db 1295.B+ (Hand 117) prob. with αἰγει°?; and *a_3-ki-wa-ta* KN As(2) 1516.6 (Hand 101) (cf. also *ạ-ki-wa-ta*) and *a_3-ki-wa-to* KN Uf(3) 987 (Hand 123) with αἰγι°; Knossos MNs with obscure second member: °*wastās*, °*wastos*?

a_3-ki-a_2-ri-ja TH Of 25.1 (Hand 303) and *a_3-ki-a_2-ri-jo* PY Fn 50.4 (Class iii), 79.15 (Hand 45) are clear derivatives of Αἰγίαλος, cf. αἰγιαλός 'sea-shore'. See *sub* *a_2*, §17.3.3.5.1. Moreover, the MN *a_3-ki-e-we* PY Vn 130.4 (Hand 1), dat., and the MN *a_3-ki-e-wo* PY Jn 605.10 (Hand 2), gen., from the MN **a_3-ki-e-u*, belong here. The name is likely to be a hypocoristic of Aigialios or the like, since the *-ki-e-* spelling implies that αἰγι° was followed by a second member which began with a /h/.

a_3-ki-de-ja PY Na 529.A (Hand 1), possibly a MN /Aigidei̯as/ (?), if it is not a mistake for *a_3-ki<-po>-de-ja*; cf. *a_3-ki-po* below.

a_3-ki-no-o KN Se 879.a+ (Hand 127), X 9707, technical term, prob. /aigi-nnohos/ '(goat) tendons, sinew'.

a_3-ki-pa-ta KN Fh 346 (Hand 141?); PY Ae 108+ (Hand 42) professional title (also used as MN): αἰγι-παστᾶς or better αἰγι-πατᾶς, 'goatherd', cf. παπταίνω.

a_3-ki-po KN U 4478.9 (Hand 202), MN, cf. αἰγίπους; also *a_3-ki-po-de* PY Mb 1397 (Hand 14). In view of the format of the Mb records, this is probably a PN and a loc. /Aigipodei/ is likely.

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[66] Although in INTERNAL position we have one instance at Knossos (*au-to-a_3-ta*, most probably a defective or contracted spelling of *au-to-a_3-ta* KN Ch 972, perhaps in Hand 110) and two instances of the same PN at Pylos *de-we-ro-a_3-ko-ra-i-ja* Ng 319.1 and Wa 948 (Hand 1), this evidence can be reduced to the initial position, since all the other words are compounds and the sign is positioned at the beginning of the second member (a fact which is stressed by the use of *-a_2-* in the same word *au-to-a_2-ta* Cn 314.3 [Class i] at Pylos as a sheep description). This trend to mark compound boundaries is also attested in the analytical spelling of *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo* PY On 300.8 (Class ii Stylus 300) in contrast with the conflated *pe-ra$_3$-ko-ra-i-ja* PY Ng 332.1, Wa 114.2 (Hand 1).

a_3-ki[PY An 615.4 (Hand 1) could be variously supplemented, but a name with αἰγι° is likely.

a_3-ki-wa-ro PY Es 644.5+ (Hand 1), 650.5 (Hand 11), MN with αἰγι°; the second element °*walos* is obscure. Since from ἁλίσκομαι we would expect *αἰγιαλής (cf. δουριαλής), °*wālos* 'stud' is preferable, cf. ἦλος, ἀργυρόηλος.

a_3-ko-ta KN As(2) 1516.9 (Hand 101); PY An 657.14 (Hand 1), Aq 218.6 (Hand 21), MN again with αἰγ(ι)° and a second member °ορ-τᾱς, cf. ὄρνυμι. If so, it is probably built on αἶγες rather than on αἴξ.

a_3-za PY Ub 1318.7 (Hand 32), description of a skin (*di-pte-ra*) /aiʤa/ 'goatish' is clearly derived from αἴξ.

/aik-/

a_3-ka-sa-ma PY Jn 829.3 (Hand 2), /aiksmāns/ 'points' for spears and javelins, cf. αἰχμή.

a_3-ki-si-jo KN U 4478.3 (Hand 202) MN, although /Aigi-si^{j}os/ cannot be excluded, a better proposal is /Aik-si^{j}ōn/.

/aim-/

a_3-mi-re-we KN Dm 1174.A+ (Hand 117), description of sheep, a derivative in *-ēus* from */aimilos/, cf. perhaps Hitt. *ḫimma-* 'replica, (ritual) substitute', Lat. *aemulus*, if its parallel term *e-ka-ra-e-we* is a truncated form of a compound with *e-ka-ra*° 'sacrificial hearth' and a second member with initial aspiration.]*a_3-ṃị*[KN Fh 9097 (Hand 141) is perhaps a MN related to *a_3-mi-re-we*.

/aisk^h-/

a_3-zo-ro-qe KN Ch 1029+ (Hand 110): description of the coat of an ox, /aisk^{h}ros/ 'ugly, unpleasant?'. A clear instance of an alternative spelling *z*/*k* for the same consonant (see §17.3.2.2); *a_3-zo-ẉọ*[PY Cn 485.5 (Hand 1), probably a place-name, could be another instance (αἰσχο° and °*wo-wo*?). The obscure]*a_3-ze* KN X 9742 could belong to a compound in °αισχής.

/ait^h-/

a_3-ta-jo KN Ga(2) 419.1 (Hand 136), MN /Ait^{h}ai^{j}os/, cf. Αἴθη.

a_3-ta-re-u-si PN PY An 657.10 (Hand 1), loc. plur. of an ethnic derived from a PN **Ait^{h}alā*; not a hypocoristic from a compound of αἰθαλο°, since these are unattested.

a_3-ta-ro MN PY Jn 415.2 (Hand 2) from the adjective αἴθαλος 'burned, smoky'; *a_3-ta-ro-we* KN Da 1221.B (Hand 117); PY Cn 285.2 (Hand 1), 328.15 (Hand 1) MN /Ait^{h}alowens/, *-went*-derivative, cf. αἰθαλόεις 'smoky'.

a_3-ti-jo-qo nom. PY Eb 156.2+ (Hand 41), En 74.11+ (Hand 1), dat. *a_3-ti-jo-qe* PY Eo 247.2+ (Hand 41), MN /Ait^{h}i-ǰŏk^{w}s/, with /Ait^{h}i-/ as first element of compound; cf. alph. Gr. Αἰθίοψ.

a_3-to KN Da 6061 (Hand 117), MN /Ait^{h}ōn/. Cf. Αἴθων *LGPN* III.A, 18, III.B, 17.

An obscure word]*a_3-ti-ṇụ*[, (]*a_3-ti-ja*[or]*a_3-ti-pẹ*[in KN X 9007) could be another instance of αἰθι°.]*a_3-tu-ti-ja*[or]*a_3-tu-ti-ẉạ*[KN L(1) 5949.b (Hand 103) could also be added, cf. αἰθύσσω 'stir up'.

/ai-t-/

]*a_3-sa* PY Un 1426.3 (Class i) and TH Ug 14 (Hand 301), most probably αἶσα < **ai-t-yh$_2$*, with a derivative *a_3-so-ni-jo* PY An 261.13 (Hand 43), Jn 310.3 (Hand 2),

706.11 (Hand 21); MY Ui 651.4; MI Wv 6.γ, MN (same individual probably both at Mycenae and Midea) /Aisōni^{j}os/, Αἰσώνιος *LGPN* III.A, 21, cf. Αἴσων *LGPN* III.A, 21; and possibly the headband makers *a*$_3$-]*ṣọ-ni-ja* /Ai]sōni^{j}ai/ 'women from /Aisōn/' on the new tablet VO X 1.1. Note that Αἴσων was the name of a town in the vicinity of Iolkos (Volos) as well as the name of a coastal river and Jason's father. Possible compound MN *ạ*$_3$-*ṣạ*[KN As(1) 5557 (Hand 103), cf. Αἰσαγένης *LGPN* III.A, 19, Αἰσάνωρ *LGPN* III.A, 19. An obscure form *ạ*$_3$-*se-wa*[PY An 615.13 (Hand 1) is perhaps related (a shortened name in -ε*ϝ*ᾱς); *a*$_3$-*se-we* PY Cr 868.1 (Class i), loc. of a PN in *-us* or *-ēus*, remains obscure.

/aiw-/

a$_3$-*wo-ro* KN Ch 896+ (Hand 110), description of cattle coat: αἰόλος /ai-wo-los/, 'spotted, patched' (< 'ash-stained'?); a probable hypocoristic is *a*$_3$-*wa* (ox name??) in KN C 973, cf. the personal name Αἴας, cf. Αἴ*ϝ*ας *LGPN* III.A, 18;[67] a derivative in *-ēus*, **a*$_3$-*wo-re-u*, αἰολεύς, is possibly attested in the dat. plur.]*ạ*$_3$-*wo-re-u-*[*si* KN Wm 1707.a.1-2, ultimately perhaps a hypocoristic of a compound with αἰολο°, cf. Hom. αἰολοθώρηξ 'with glancing breastplate'. The MNs *a*$_3$-*wa-ta* KN Vc(1) 7612 (Hand 124-s; see Hom. Αἰήτης and cf. *LGPN* IV, 10) and *a*$_3$-*wa-ṭọ* KN As(2) 1516.14 (Hand 101) could be also related to this root, but αἶα 'earth' cannot be excluded: see the WN *a*$_3$-*wa-ja* PY En 74.22 (Hand 1), Eo 160.2 (Hand 41), /Aiwai^{j}a/; *a*$_3$-*wi-jo* PY Na 533 (Hand 1) is prob. a PN, perhaps in the loc. /Aiwi^{j}oi/, poss. from the same source. The gen. MN *a*$_3$-*wo-ḍị-jo-no* PY Wn 1247 is obscure.

/hai-/

a$_3$-*me-wa* MN PY Mb 1376 (Hand 14), Vn 865.2 (Class i; a shipbuilder), prob. derived from **a*$_3$-*me-u*, a hypocoristic abbreviated name from a compound e.g. */Haimolāwos/, cf. Αἱμόστρατος *LGPN* III.A, 18 (cf. αἵμων 'eager?').

a$_3$-*te* PY Un 1321.3 (Hand 34); plur. *a*$_3$-*te-re* KN B(4) 101.1 (Hand 124) /haitēr, haitēres/ 'inlayer(s), binder(s)', cf. García Ramón 1997, 345.

Varia

a$_3$-*ku-pi-ti-jo* KN Db 1105.B (Hand 117), geographical nickname, /Aigupti^{j}os/ 'The man from Memphis (Ptah's Temple)'.

]*a*$_3$-*ḳụ-ta* KN Ch 7100*v*. (Hand 110), either MN, e.g. Αἰσχύτης *LGPN* I, 22; II, 17; III.A, 21, or cattle description?, cf. the reconstructed adjective *αἰσχύς vs αἰσχύνη, 'shame', αἰσχύνω, etc.

a$_3$-*ni-jo* KN As(2) 1517.13 (Hand 102?); TH Gp 167.2 (Hand 306), MN, /Aini^{j}os/, Αἴνιος *LGPN* I, 19; II, 14, cf. αἶνος 'praise', Πολύαινος. Etymology unknown.

a$_3$-*nu-me-no* PY An 261.2 (Hand 43), MN, /Ainumenos/ 'Fond', participle of αἴνυμαι 'to enjoy'.

a$_3$-*pu-ke-ne-ja* PY Fn 79.1 (Hand 45) /Aipu-genei^{j}ā/, WN 'Born in Αἴπυς', cf. αἰπύς, Θηβαιγενής.

a$_3$-*ra*$_2$-[MY X 8 (Iakovidis – Godart – Sacconi 2012) is obscure.

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[67] A proposal by Mühlestein 1967.

The care with which the scribes rendered an initial /(h)ai/ diphthong with the syllabogram **43* can be seen in the four examples, at least, where **43* is a correction written over an earlier sign:

a_3-ki-a_2-ri-jo	PY Fn 50.4 (*a_3* over ⟦*a*⟧) (Class iii);
a_3-ki-wa-to	KN Uf(3) 987 (*a_3-ki-* over ⟦ ⟧) (Hand 123);
a_3-ko-ta	PY Aq 218.6 (*a_3-ko-* over ⟦ ⟧) (Hand 21);
a_3-wa-ja	PY Eo 160.2 (*a_3-wa-* over ⟦ ⟧) (Hand 41).

§17.3.3.1.2. *The syllabogram* *85 au *or* a_4

As expected (cf. LEJEUNE 1966), the syllabogram **85* (𐀵) is restricted to word-initial position and is widely attested (Knossos, Pylos, Mycenae and Thebes). The sign is inherited from Linear A (𐁅). Analysed by roots, the best evidence concerns:

/aul(o)-/ 'hole, cavity', alph. Gr. αὐλός, cf. Lat. *alvus*.

au-ro KN Sd 4402.a (Hand 128) is the name of a missing part of a chariot; αὐλός fits well in the sense of a kind of hollow receptacle. A derivative *au-ri-jo* KN As(1) 604.2 (Hand 103), Da 1080.B+ (Hand 117); TH Ug 5 (Hand 301) is a MN widely used /Auli̯os/, cf. Αὔλιος *LGPN* II, 79, or /Auli̯ōn/, cf. Αὐλίων *LGPN* I, 94; see αὐλός, Αὐλίς. Possibly related is *au-ri-mo-de* KN Fp(1) 13.2 (Hand 138), PN (sanctuary?) in the all., poss. /Aurimon-de/ or /Aulimon-de/ (a connection with αὐλισμός· διανυκτέρευσις is prevented by the Mycenaean spelling).

/aus-/

au-ta$_2$ KN Db 1166.B (Hand 117), a MN, /Austās/, cf. αὕω. *au-te* PY Ta 709.2 (Hand 2), an 'active' cooking implement, prob. /austēr/ 'burning coal holder', cf. ἐξαυστήρ 'flesh-hook'. *au-te-ra* MY Oe 128.a (Hand 56), WN in the dat., poss. /Austērāi/, cf. αὐστηρός. The Mycenaean words cannot derive from 'dry' **$h_2$susos* (LUBOTSKY 1985), since we would expect an *a-u-* spelling prompted by the internal aspiration.

/aut(o)-/ 'self', alph. Gr. αὐτός.

Simple *au-to-jo* PY Eb 156.2 (Hand 41), gen. of αὐτός. On the other hand, *au-to* in KN Da 1392.B (Hand 117) may be a description of sheep (abbreviation of an adjective with /auto°/?) written very faintly. Compounds: *au-ta-mo* PY Jn 658.4 (Hand 21), 725.2 (Hand 2), MN /Aut^{h}aimōn/. *au-to-te-qa-jo* TH Ug 4 (Hand 301), MN /Autot^{h}ēg^{w}ai̯os/. Compounds of less obvious interpretation[68] are *au-to-ą*[PY Cn 938.1 (Hand 21); *au-to-a_2-ta* PY Cn 314.3 (Class i); *au-to-a_3-ta* KN

[68] It is likely that *au-to-ą*[, *au-to-a_2-ta*, *au-to-a_3-ta* and even *au-a_3-ta* are all merely variants of the same compound word describing cattle. The contrast between spellings with *-a-*, *-a_2-* and *-a_3-* would represent a plain-, juncture- and diphthong-writing for the second member.

Ch 972 (Hand 110?); *au-to-*34-ta-ra* PY Fn 187.10 (Hand 2), if /Autoait^{h}alā/. *au-a$_3$-ta* KN C 1582.b, if it is a by-form of *au-to-a$_3$-ta*, may include a shortened form of *au-to-* (spelling mistake?). *au-u-te* KN Od 666.b (Hand 115) may be a by-form of **au-to-u-te*? for **au-to-we-te* /autowetes/, cf. αὐετῆ (Hsch.)· αὐτοετῆ and for /au-/ *au-a$_3$-ta* above.

Other roots are represented by single words:

**au-do*: instr. plur. *au-de-pi* PY Ta 642.2+ (Hand 2); in 707.1 Hand 2 wrote *au-de-* over ⟦⟧); derivative *au-de-we-sa-qe* PY Ta 709.2+ in the same Hand; prob. a neuter in *-o/es-*,[69] not preserved in the alph. Gr. lexicon; it indicates a decoration or part of a table. The *nomen actionis* αὐδή could provide a feminine counterpart, but the meaning 'sound' does not yield easily the concrete meaning required for **au-do*, unless this stands for 'bell' or the like.

**au-ke-i-ja-te-u*: MN dat. *au-ke-i-ja-te-we* PY An 1281.4 (*au-* perhaps over ⟦*ạ-ḳẹ*⟧).10: (*au-ke-* over ⟦⟧) (Hand 12), Ub 1318.1.2 (Hand 32); gen. *au*[*-ke-i-*]*ja-te-wo* PY Fn 50.11 (Class iii). The MN *au-ke-wa* in PY An 192.4 (Hand 22), Jo 438.23 (Class i), Ta 711.1 (*au-* over ⟦*a*⟧) (Hand 2) could be a short form. Prob. /Auge-hi^{j}ātēus/: first member /Auges°/ cf. *αὔγος, °αυγής, *nomen actionis* αὐγή, 'rays'; second member obscure.

au-wi-ja-to MN in MY Au 653.4 (Hand 62) and 657.2 (same Hand) where *au-* is written over ⟦*a*⟧; *au-ja-to* on MY Au 102.5 (Hand 52) is an alternative spelling; poss. /Au^{w}i^{j}ant^{h}os/. An obscure word *ạu-*[•]*-ẹ* appears on TH Wu 74.β as a description/location for a goat.

The absence of *au-* in names of non-Greek stock seems to point to a Greek need for the sign, in spite of its Linear A provenance.[70] The existence of a disyllabic sequence *a-u-*, i.e. /ahu-/ either in negative compounds of the type **ṇ̥-hu…* or in comitative ones **sṃ̥-hu…* may account for the use of *au* for the diphthong.

§17.3.3.1.3. *The syllabogram* *33 rai *or* ra$_3$

The tendency to multiply the signs with *a*-vowel on account of its greater frequency also explains the more recent creation of **33 rai* or *ra$_3$* 𐄁 at Pylos which was adapted from the apparently superfluous Knossos logogram 𐄁 CROC for 'saffron', a plant which is not recorded as cultivated in the Mainland. Sign

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[69] A word in *-ēn* is to be excluded, since we would then expect something like ***au-da-pi* and ***au-de-nu-we-sa-qe*.

[70] The sign would have in Linear A a different value from that found in Linear B. If on the basis of the acrophonic principle the Linear B phonetic value represents the first syllable of a Greek word for 'pig', we may think of αὖλαξ 'furrow' (cf. δέλφαξ, 'pig') and refer to the widespread relationship between the snout of the pigs and the ploughshare (cf. ὖννις, 'furrow' ~ ὗς, 'pig'; Lat. *porca*, 'ridge between furrows' ~ *porcus*, 'pig').

**33* is not attested elsewhere to date, but was widely used at Pylos: the important Hands 1, 2, 4 and the minor Hands 21 and 31 used it in word-final position for the morphological marking of the nominative plur. of *a*-stems. In internal position its usage is more restricted: Hand 2 and another anonymous Hand of Class ii used **33* to write the Greek word of non-PIE origin *e-ra$_3$-wo* /elaiwon/, in contrast with Hand 44 which wrote *e-ra-wo*. Apart from a probable non-Greek ethnic *pe-ra$_3$-qo* and the WN *ma-ra$_3$-wa* (a compound with °αιϝᾱ?; note that in Eb 866.B, Hand 41 wrote *-ra$_3$-* over ⟦*ra*⟧), the dossier is completed by a compound, the geographical name *pe-ra$_3$-ko-ra-i-ja* /Per-aigoslahi^{j}a/; cf. *pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja* in Pa 398.a (Class iii Stylus 49) and *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo* in On 300.8 (Class ii Stylus 300), where the *-ra-a-* spelling is an attempt to mark the composition boundary.

§17.3.3.2. The labialized series

There are two labialized series that parallel the two series described for the oral apical stops, voiced (e.g. *dwo*) and unvoiced (e.g. *two*). Another defective series renders the apical nasals (*nwa*). These CRV clusters with R = /w/ were steadily maintained in Mycenaean times.

§17.3.3.2.1. *Voiced labialized apicals*

§17.3.3.2.1.1. The syllabogram **90 dwo*

The sign *dwo* 𐀶 was a Linear B innovation, formed by two *wo* signs mirroring each other. It was used at Pylos in the monosyllable for 'two' *dwo* by Hand 41 (Eb 338.B, Eo 278) and Hand 31 (Ub 1315.3), though Hand 41 used the fuller spelling in the oblique form *du-wo-u-pi* in PY Eb 149.2+ and so did the major Hand 1 in Ep 613.1+. A derivative of the numeral used as a name, *dwo-jo*, is well attested at Knossos, while we find at Pylos the variants with the full spelling *du-wo-jo* Jn 750.12 (Hand 2), gen. *du-wo-jo-jo* An 656.11 (Hand 1).

At Pylos Hands 1 and 41 wrote the MN *wi-dwo-i-jo*, whereas Hand 2 used the full spelling *wi-du-wo-i-jo*; the same name now recurs at Thebes (Oq 434.13, classified as Uq by the editors) in the dat. *wi-dwo-i-jo* preceded by *pa-ro*; at Knossos Hands 103 (As[1] 604.1) and 115 (V[3] 655.1) wrote a perfect participle *e-re-dwo-e* (nom. plur.) /ēreid-woh-es/ 'set to work?' in the heading of personnel rolls.

A name *ma-si-dwo* appears in KN Fh 360.b (Hand 141), and the corresponding variant]*ṃa-si-du-wo* probably occurs on KN Np(2) 1000 (Hand 134).

The *dwo* sign appears therefore in initial, internal and final position; the initial position is supported by the existence of an initial δ*F*- in first millennium Greek.[71]

§17.3.3.2.1.2. The syllabogram **71 dwe*

The sign *dwe* 𐀸, also a Linear B innovation, was used at Knossos, Pylos and Thebes. It mostly occurs in the adjective which describes chariot wheels (*a-mo-ta*) *te-mi-dwe-ta* /termidwenta/ '(wheels) with *termides* (pegs?)': cf. the So series in Hands 130 and 131 at Knossos, and Sa 791+ at Pylos in Hand 26. The form *te-mi-dwe-te* KN So(2) 4433.a (*-te* over ⟦*ta*⟧) (Hand 131), So(1) 4437 (Hand 130), is mirrored by a full spelling *te-mi-de-we-te* which occurs at Pylos in Hand 26? in Sa 1266.a. A neuter sing. *te-mi-dwe* occurs on KN So 894.1 and may recur as a (restored) man's name on KN As(1) 5605.2 (Hand 103) and Ga(1) 680 *lat. inf.* (Hand 135). The sign appears once at Thebes on a nodule (Wu 99.β [Hand κ]) in an obscure form *a-dwe-ẹ*[72] which could match a full spelling at Knossos (*a-de-we-*[.] As 1516.15 [Hand 101], a MN). In addition there is a possible instance of the sign in word-initial position in KN F(2) 841.3.

§17.3.3.2.2. *Voiceless labialized apicals*

§17.3.3.2.2.1. The syllabograms **87 twe* and **91 two*

It is not entirely certain that the subsystem of voiceless labialized apicals was widely used in the different administrative centres. At least one of its components seems to be a local innovation: the sign *two* 𐀶 seems to have been exclusively used by a subordinate Hand at Pylos in the MN *o-two-we-o* (gen.) in An 261.2-5, which also shows in the *verso* the intervention of the principal Hand 1, which wrote the name as *o-to-wo-o* (cf. the Hands 2, 12, and 21, which also used a full spelling with the basic signs *-to-wo-* or *-tu-wo-*, and Hand 61 at Mycenae, which wrote *o-to-wo-wi-je* in V 659.5 for a derivative of the name); see also LEJEUNE 1962. The same is true of the sign *twe* 𐀽 which is only

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[71] The cluster /wd/ seems to be only attested in *mo-ri-wo-do* /molilwdos/ 'lead' of KN Og 1527, later μόλυβδος, which is taken by MELCHERT 2008 to be a loanword from Lydian *mariwda-*. 'dark, black'. Assuming that the syllabic boundary precedes the /wd/ cluster avoids considering the sequence as the writing of a diphthong /iu/, for which spellings such as *...i-u-* or *...i-*65-* would be expected.

[72] It is likely that this word stands for a description of the goats concerned: a dual /hadwehe/ 'fattened' is then possible, prob. < **sadwēs* (cf. Lat. *satis*) built on **sadwos*, cf. Hom. (psilotic) ἄδος (neuter).

attested at Knossos[73] in an adjective describing chariot wheels (*a-mo-ta*), *o-da-twe-ta* /odatwenta/ 'provided with teeth (?)' on tablets of the So series in Hand 130; a variant *o-da-tu-we-ta*, with the full spelling, is written on So 894.4, whereas another variant *o-da-ke-we-ta* appears on So(2) 4446.1 in Hand 131 (a variant *o-da-ku-we-ta* is also attested).

§17.3.3.2.3. *Nasal labialized apicals: the syllabogram* *48, nwa

The nasal labialized apical series is certainly represented by at least one syllabogram, **48*, *nwa* 𐀸. There is now one clear instance of this syllabogram in Linear A (𐘀𐘀 SY Za 4),[74] which demonstrates that the sign is not a Linear B creation, but belongs to the Linear A signary, as was expected, since it is also attested in Hieroglyphic (no. 006: 𐘀𐘀).

At Knossos the sign *nwa* was used by several Hands (102?, 115, 117, 118, 122?, and the Hands 124). Its usage can be illustrated by the MN *qa-nwa-so*, which appears on KN Dl(1) 943.B in Hand 118, while the full spelling *qa-nu-wa-so* is written by Hand 101 (As[2] 1516.17).

Such an alternation could also occur between centres: at Pylos the God's name Enyalios (a later epiclesis of Ares) is spelt as *e-nwa-ri-jo* by Hand 1 in An 724.12[75], while it is written as *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* at Knossos (V 52.2).

A frequent use of the sign appears in the writing of the adjective 'of the past year' *pe-ru-si-nwa* at Knossos, Mycenae and Pylos (cf. PY Ma 193.2+ *pe-ru-si-nu-wo* < **per-ut-i-m-wos*). In Pylos Hand 32 alternated between the sign *nwa* in the gen. plur. *pe-ru-si-nwa-o* (Ub 1317) and a full spelling *pe-ru-si-nu-wa* (Ub 1316) in the nom. plur., a spelling also preferred by Hand 2 in PY Ma 126.1 and 225.2.

The ethnic *ti-nwa-si-ja* PY Aa 699 (Hand 1), Ab 190.B (Hand 21), Na 345.b (Hand 1), with the MN *ti-nwa-si-jo* in PY Ea 810 (Hand 43), Fn 324.12 (Class iii), Jo 438.21 (Class i) has only the conservative, unassibilated variants *ti-nwa-ti*[in PY La 633 (Hand 13?) and *ti-nwa-ti-ja-o* in PY Ad 684 (Hand 23), but no instance of full spelling.

At Thebes a MN]*sa-nwa-ta* is attested on Av 106.6. Although it is not excluded that this word could be an occupational term, an ethnic built on a PN *]*sa-nwa* is more likely.

The fact that the sign *nwa* is only attested in internal and final positions[76] is indicated in the Fig. 17.9 by adding a preceding hyphen.

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[73] It is not impossible that the syllabogram **87* is a mirror version of the syllabogram A 305 of Linear A (𐘇).

[74] MUHLY - OLIVIER 2008, 207f., 216.

[75] Although it is widely agreed that the name in PY An 724.12 is a man's name, such an interpretation is not compulsory. The line runs *e-to-ni-jo, e-nwa-ri-jo* VIR 1, but, since *e-to-ni-jo* seemingly represented a kind of land-tenancy linked to sanctuaries, the text may record the obligation for the sanctuary of E. to provide one man, it mattered not whom, as a *corvée* linked to the plot.

[76] A hint that in Linear A **48* could occur in initial position is provided by the sign (𐘀*) engraved on a bronze Minoan axe head, prob. as an instance of acrophonic use, see PALAIMA 2003, 195.

A comparison with the corresponding oral series would suggest, however, that the *nwa* sign should have become the catalyst for an entire series as well. The question remains open whether signs for /nwe/, /nwi/ and /nwo/ did or did not exist.

§17.3.3.3. The yodized series

§17.3.3.3.1. *Liquid yodized resonants*

§17.3.3.3.1.1. The syllabogram **76 ra_2*[77]

The syllabogram **76* (𐀶) is already attested in Linear A (𐘀) and occurs in texts from Knossos, Pylos, Mycenae and Thebes.

In INITIAL position the syllabogram is perhaps attested once at Pylos: *ṛạ₂*[An 614.1, is a possible, but suspect, reading of *vest.*[(Hand 1) with an alternative *qạ*[, which seems preferable.

At Pylos in INTERNAL position it appears in the name of a personage of the highest rank *e-ke-ra₂-wo* Un 718.2 (Hand 24); dat. *e-ke-ra₂-wo-ne* An 724.5 (Hand 1); gen. *e-ke-ra₂-wo-no* An 610.13 (Hand 1), cf. also]*ke-ra₂*[Er 880.1 (Hand 24); a curious variant *e*]*-ḳẹ-ra₂-u-na* occurs on Un 853.1 (Hand 6). It is likely that]*ẹ-ke-ri-ja-wo* is an alternative spelling of the name on Qa 1292 (Hand 15), while]*e-ke-ri-jo-na* on Vn 851.2 (Hand 12) is perhaps to be left aside. A faulty *e-ke-ra-ne* on Un 219.1 (Hand 15) could be amended to *e-ke-ra<-wo>-ne* or *e-ke-ra<-u>-ne*.

The name might be a compound and, since it is probable that the syllabogram *ra₂* was avoided in absolute initial, it would be difficult to split it as *e-ke-* and *-ra₂-wo-*. This speaks against a first member /Hek^{h}e-/ < **seĝ^{h}-*. So, a first member /Enk^{h}es°/ cf. ἔγχος (< **h$_1$neĝ-*??) 'spear', would be preferable, cf. Ἐγχόρμας *LGPN* III.B, 129. For the use of the invariant *-es-* of the stem in the first member of a compound, cf. *e-te-do-mo* KN Uf 432.6; PY Ea 808 (Hand 43), En 609.5 (Hand 1), Eo 211.2 (Hand 41) and Ep 301.5 (Hand 1) if /entesdomos/ 'maker of ἔντεα (fighting gear)', *re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo* PY Fr 343 (Hand 4), *re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo* PY Fr 1217.2 (Class ii) if involving /lek^{h}es°/ 'couch' and alph. Gr. τελεσ-φόρος *Il.* 19.32+, σακέσ-παλος *Il.* 5.126[78]. The second member could be based on **leh₂-u-*, 'seize', cf. ἀπολαύω, λεία, but this raises serious morphological objections (a 'substantivizing' suffix *-ŏn-*?). If so, the syllabogram would represent the treatment of a /sl/ cluster before an *a*-vowel (*pace* GARCÍA RAMÓN 2012b).

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[77] HEUBECK 1986 attempted to survey the entire evidence (Sections IV and V) along the same lines which we have independently followed here, starting from zero; any overlapping analyses should therefore be credited to Professor Heubeck.

[78] MEISSNER - TRIBULATO 2002, 307.

Another common MN at Pylos is *ta-ra$_2$-to* PY En 74.15+ (Hand 1), Eo 351.2+ (*-ra$_2$-* poss. over another *ra$_2$*, i.e., an instance of doubt and subsequent confirmation?) (Hand 41), with a variant *ta-ra-to* in Eo 247.6 in the same Hand: poss.?/T^{h}allant^{h}os/ *vel sim.*

The heading of PY Vn 493.1 (Class i) reads *a-ke-ro, e-po, a-ke-ra$_2$-te*. The other lines record different numerical quantities each preceded by a personal name and a place name. There is no logogram and presumably the numbers refer to an entry described in the heading as *e-po*, poss. a by-form /erp^{h}ons/ 'goat kids', cf. ἔριφος.[79] The men listed are described as *a-ke-ro*, and *a-ke-ra$_2$-te* is a sigmatic aorist participle in agreement with this noun: we might expect the two terms to be closely related, but the expected noun 'gatherer' should be /agoros/ and not /ageros/, while the verb /ageirō/ 'gather' (from **ageryō* < **h$_2$eĝ-* or **h$_2$ĝer-ye-*) would be used in the technical sense reflected in the noun of action *a-ko-ra* '(livestock/cattle) gathering'. It would be better, therefore, to read the noun as /angelos/ 'messenger' or the like, while keeping the interpretation of the verb. In any case, the syllabogram *ra$_2$* was used to represent the treatment of stem-final /r/ before the /sa/ morpheme of the aorist.

A PN *pu$_2$-ra$_2$-a-ke-re-u* is attested in PY Nn 228.3 (Hand 1), with its adjective *pu$_2$-ra$_2$-a-ki-ri-jo* PY Na 425 (same Hand): a juxtaposition of the well known second member *-a-ke-re-u* and a first member which is probably the tree named φυλίᾱ 'wild olive' although not in the gen. (MELENA 2013).

At Knossos in INTERNAL position the syllabogram *ra$_2$* appears in a number of personal names:

ki-ra$_2$-i-jo in Sc 103 (Hand 124-1), a MN for which a possible variant is *ki-ri-ja-i-jo* PY An 519.3 (Hand 1) /Kirrahi^{j}os/ or /Killahi^{j}os/;

pe-ra$_2$-ṿọ[in Xd 98 (Hand 124) is probably built on *pe-ra$_2$* (see below);

]pi-ra$_2$-mo[in X 7860.1 (over ⟦⟧), which could be related to the clan name *pi-ri-ja-me-ja* in PY An 39, but *]pi-ra$_2$-ṭạ-jẹ* (or *]pi-ra$_2$-ṭạ-*4̣7̣*) in KN X 8293.b is too obscure to be taken into account;

qa-ra$_2$-ṛị[in X 7873.2.3; *qa-ra$_2$-ro* in Dl(1) 932.B (*qa-* over ⟦*qẹ*⟧ [Hand 118]); *qa-ra$_2$-ti-jo* in Dg 1235.B (Hand 117); *qa-ra$_2$-wo* in Ce 50.1a, *v.*1a (Hand 124-B) are all forms built on *qa-ra$_2$* (see below);

te-ra$_2$[in X 7585 is probably built on *te-ra$_2$* (see below);

wi-ṛạ$_2$-[•] in Ws 1701.β; *varia lectio wi-ṛạ$_2$-ṿọ*, cf. *wi-ṛị[* KN X 9075 (cf. *wi-ri-ja-no* PY Ea 52 [Hand 43]).

In FINAL position our analysis can begin with the professional title of female persons:

a-ke-ti-ra$_2$ PY Aa 815 (Hand 1), Ab 564+ (Hand 21); gen. plur. *a-ke-ti-ra$_2$-o* PY Ad 290+; also used at Thebes Of 36 (Hand 303); variant *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* PY Aa 85 (Hand 4), 717 (Hand 1); dat. plur. *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* PY Fn 187.15 (Hand 2); Un 219.4 (Hand 15): /askētri^{j}ai/ 'finishers', cf. ἀσκέω.

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[79] M.F. Lane (personal communication) interestingly thinks of /(h)elp$^{(h)}$os/ 'butter, ghee', cf. ἔλπος· ἔλαιον Hsch., ἔλφος. The initial aspiration is supported by Skt. *sarpíṣ-* 'fat' < **sélp-es-*. However, we would expect quantities of butter or ghee to be measured not with bare numbers but with vessels or liquid measures.

me-re-ti-ra$_2$ PY Ab 789.aB (over ⟦⟧) (Hand 21); gen. plur. *me-re-ti-ra*$_2$[-*o* PY Ad 308 (Hand 23); variant *me-re-ti-ri-ja* PY Aa 62 (Hand 4), 764 (Hand 1): /meletri^{j}ai/ 'corn-grinders', assimilated from **mela-* < **melh*$_2$-, or confla-tion with ἀλέ(ϝ)ω? 'to grind', cf. ἀλετρίς.

o-ti-ra$_2$ PY Ab 417.B (Hand 21); gen. plur. *o-ti-ra*$_2$-*o* PY Ad 663 (Hand 23); variant *o-ti-ri-ja* PY Aa 313 (Hand 1): descriptive term of unknown mean-ing (/ort^{h}ri ^{j}ai/, cf. Ὀρθρία GN?).

pe-ki-ti-ra$_2$ PY Ab 578.B (Hand 21); gen. plur. *pe-ki-ti-ra*$_2$-*o* PY Ad 694 (Hand 23); variant *pe-ki-ti*[-*ri-ja* PY Aa 891 (Hand 1): /pektri^{j}a/ 'carder', cf. πέκω.

ra-pi-ti-ra$_2$ PY Ab 555.B (Hand 21): /raptri ^{j}ai/ 'stitcher women', cf. ῥάπτω.

ra-qi-ti-ra$_2$ PY Ab 356.B (over ⟦⟧) (Hand 21); gen. plur. *ra-qi-ti-ra*$_2$-*o* PY Ad 667 (Hand 23): unknown meaning, but perhaps later attested in the compound συλλήπτρια (Aesch. Xen. +), cf. λάζομαι? and §17.3.2.1.1 *sub* **sleh*$_2$*g*^{w}-.

It is clear that the alternation between *-ra*$_2$ and *-ri-ja* is related to the Hands of the scribes with the following distribution:

PY	HANDS
-ti-ra$_2$	1, 21, and 23
-ti-ri-ja	1, 2, 4 and 15.

Such a variation (even in one and the same Hand) at Pylos[80] occurs with the feminine agent suffix **-tr-yh*$_2$, which corresponds to the masculine *-tēr*. In alph. Gr. we mainly find post-Homeric -τρια, but a variant -τερρα is also recorded in the tradition of Les-bian poets.[81]

On the other hand, Hands 1, 21, and 23 wrote the MN *ka-pa-ra*$_2$ PY Jn 706.10 (Hand 21)[82] and the feminine description gen. plur. *ka-pa-ra*$_2$-*do* PY Ad 679.a (Hand 23) (poss. complete), whereas Hands 1 and 4 which used *-ri-ja* wrote *wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$ PY Cn 643.2+ (Hand 1)[83] and the nom. plur. *ka-pa-ra*$_2$-*de* PY Aa 788, An 292.2 (Hand 1), a fact that could indicate that *ra*$_2$ does not come from /rya/ in these forms and that therefore *ka-pa-ra*$_2$-*de* has nothing to do with the MN *ka-pa-ri-jo* KN U 4478.14 (Hand 202), Vc(1) 72 (Hand 124-s), V(2) 60.2 (Hand 124-B), V(1) 77.1 (Hand 124); dat. *ka-pa-ri-jo-ne* KN Fh 344 (Hand 141). Nevertheless, Hand 1 at Pylos fluctuates between the two types of spelling, and the weight of Hands 21 and 23, which used only *-ra*$_2$ but not *-ri-ja*, is perhaps negligible. In conclusion all that we can say is that for *ka-pa-ra*$_2$-*de* we are dealing with a word in *-as, -ados*.

Other writers at Pylos used the syllabogram in the following words:

e-pi-qo-ra$_2$ on Mn 456.10 (Hand 2), PN, possibly /Epik^{w}oliā (*scil.* k^{h}ōrā)/ 'plateau, highland', *o*-grade form of **k*^{w}*el-*, cf. Ἐπιπολαί.

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[80] Knossos uses *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* KN Ai 739.1 (Hand 207?) and Ak(3) 7001.1 (Hand 102); *a-pe-ti-ra*$_2$ KN V(2) 280.11 (Hand 124), an obscure description in the context of furniture (?), could have a -τρια suffix.

[81] HEUBECK 1986 considered these *-ti-ra*$_2$ forms as linked to the Aeolic developments (literary Lesbian).

[82] *ka-pa-ra*$_2$ KN Ak(1) 5009.A, and perhaps]-*ra*$_2$ KN L(2) 647.B (Hand 103).

[83] *wi-ja-we-ra*$_2$ is similarly spelled by other scribes too in PY Jn 478.1 (Hand 2), Mn 1410.1+ (Hand 14). It is a PN of obscure morphology, perhaps a compound with °ἄελλα (HEUBECK 1986).

mi-ra$_2$ probably describes the precise wood of a pair of *a-pi-qo-to* tables on Ta 715.3 (Hand 2): better μελίᾱ 'manna ash' with alternating *e/i* than /smīlia (*scil.* hūlā)/ 'yew' (rather than 'holm oak' as in Arcadian), cf. μῖλος.

pe-ra$_2$[PY Vn 1191.7 (Class iii): since the word seems contextually to be the gen. of a MN, the syllabogram could be word-internal.

qa-ra$_2$ on An 192.16 (Hand 22); dat. *qa-ra*$_2$*-te* PY An 7.7 (Hand 3); 39*v*.3 (Class iii); at Thebes dat. *qa-ra*$_2$*-te* TH Of 38.1 (over ⟦⟧) (Hand 303); *qa-ra*$_2$*-to-de* TH Of 37.1 (prob. over ⟦⟧) (same Hand), to be understood as a gen. followed by the all. postposition, with 'house' understood as in Hom. Ἀϊδόσδε: MN in *-ant-s*, *-ant-os* /K^{w}allant-/.

Three names at Knossos contain final *ra*$_2$: *ą-de-ra*$_2$ in Ap 639.11 (Hand 103), a WN (in -λλα?);]*ta-ra*$_2$ KN Ai 632, a WN (in -λλα?, see below) better than an ethnic; *pe-ra*$_2$ in KN X 999 is perhaps a PN, cf. Πέλλα and πέλλα· λίθος. A PIE root **pels-* would guarantee a non-yodized geminate (*pace* BEEKES 2010, 1168).

The syllabogram may also be attested at Mycenae: *pe-ta-ṛą*$_2$ Fo 101.7 (Hand 53), WN: this termination is attested at Knossos (]*ta-ra*$_2$ Ai 632), and *pe-ta-ro* is a MN in PY Jn 310.9 (Hand 2), for which a nickname based on πέταλον 'leaf' is a likely interpretation: so, we can suggest a feminine /Petallā/ (cf. Πετάλη *LGPN* I, 371; II, 367; III, 361, and Πεταλλίς *LGPN* III.B, 344) and posit a form of expressive gemination as in Πεταλλίς. There is no instance of *ra*$_2$ in the women description *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* in MY Fo 101.10 (Hand 53) or *a-ke-ti-ri*[Oe 119 (Hand 52). *a*$_3$*-ra*$_2$-[MY X 8 (IAKOVIDIS – GODART – SACCONI 2012) is obscure.

Although *ra*$_2$ more frequently seems to represent the product of the depalatalization of a palatalized liquid (/rra, lla/ < /rr'a, ll'a/ < **rya*, **lya*), the syllabogram can also render geminate liquids due to expressive gemination or to the development of liquid plus /s/.[84]

§17.3.3.3.1.2. The syllabogram **68 ro*$_2$[85]

The main difference in the distribution of the syllabograms **68 ro*$_2$ ( ) and **76 ra*$_2$ is that no alternative spelling *-ri-jo(-)* seems to be attested. Since *ro*$_2$ is a Linear B innovation on the pattern of the inherited *ra*$_2$, the absence of this alternative spelling could indicate that the syllabogram was created after the merger of the /ry/ cluster with a different entity (in such a cluster, /y/ may represent either the inherited [primary] *yod* or an allegro form of /i/, i.e. a secondary *yod*). The sign is currently attested at both Knossos and Pylos.

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[84] For the sake of completeness we mention here the paper by WITCZAK 1994, where the author goes as far as to challenge the officially accepted value *ra*$_2$, because he fails to understand the rôle of 'doublets' such as *ra*$_2$, *ro*$_2$ in the Linear B script.

[85] The evidence has been entirely reviewed. HEUBECK 1986 (Section III) followed the same lines and coincidences should be credited to him.

In INTERNAL position the syllabogram is attested in forms of the adjective neut. plur. *a-ro*$_2$*-a* 'more fitting, better' from Knossos, Ld(1) 571.a+ (Hand 116), L 586.Aa (Hand 103?), L(2) 5910.2 (Hand 103), So(1) 4430.b (Hand 130); nom. masc./fem. plur.]*a-ro*$_2$*-e* KN L(10) 735.1+ (Hand 214); *a-ro*$_2$*-jo* KN So(1) 4437 (Hand 130, mistake for *a-ro*$_2$*-a*?); *a-ro*$_2$[KN X 728.A. It is an older comparative in *-yos-* built on a base **h*$_2$*er-* (cf. the superlative ἄρ-ιστος 'most fitting, best'), later on replaced by ἀρείων. It is likely, therefore, that *ro*$_2$ represents the treatment of a cluster of liquid plus *yod*. A controversial text KN X <1620> (FIRTH – MELENA 1998-1999, 118f.) runs]*o-ne-ro*$_2$*-i*[perhaps /onerroihi/ dat. plur. of a derivative of a delocatival hypostasis (< **h*$_x$*on-er-yo-* 'what is in a dream', cf. ὄνειρος 'vision' NIKOLAEV 2009, 466).

The same is true of the following instance: at Pylos the syllabogram appears in the noun **pi-ti-ro*$_2$- which is extracted from the adjective *pi-ti-ro*$_2$*-we-sa* PY Ta 713.2 (Hand 2) 'provided with **pi-ti-ro*$_2$'; since πτίλον (/pt-ilo-n/) 'feather, plume' cannot account for the use of *-ro*$_2$-, an adjective in *-yo-* is assumed: /ptil-yos/ 'feathery, i.e. with inlays in the form of a feather' (better than a diminutive /ptil-yon/ 'small feather').

On the other hand, *ro*$_2$ is also attested in a pair of names, the obscure *e-ro*$_2$*-ne* PY Na 588 (*e-* and part of *-ro*$_2$- over ⟦⟧) (Hand 1) and the MN *e-ro*$_2$*-qo* PY Ea 29+ /Ellok^{w}s/. This may be compared with alph. Gr. ἔλλοψ, a rare epithet of fish, interpreted as a compound of ἐν, 'in' and the root found in the word for 'scale', λοπός,[86] but it is more plausible to see it as a compound **Eln(o)-h*$_3$*ek^w-s* 'Fawnface' (cf. /Ait^{h}iŏk^{w}s/ 'Burntface')[87], with a first element **el-n-(o)-* which also occurs in ἔλλος (Hom.) 'deer calf' and ἔλαφος 'deer' and is likely to be a colour name. In either case *-ro*$_2$- would represent an original /ln/ and should be read /ll/. For a different explanation involving a secondary *yod*, cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 2010c.

At Knossos a fragmentary theonym]*pe-ro*$_2$*-n̥e*[appears on E 842.3 as the dative of a name which admits several restorations: *a-*]*pe-ro*$_2$*-n̥e*[/Apellōnei/ cf. Ἀπέλλων, Ἀπόλλων, is perhaps far-fetched, and *u-*]*pe-ro*$_2$*-n̥e*[< /Huperiōnei/ built on ὕπερος, cf. Ὑπερίων, is a better option in view of KN V 52.1 and *lat. inf.*

In FINAL position the syllabogram occurs in a number of nouns, in which it represents the treatment of a final liquid of the stem (either /r/ or /l/) and the *yod* of the adjectival suffix before the *o*-vowel.

ka-tu-ro$_2$ gen. plur. in PY Ub 1318.2 (Hand 32); four hides are intended for the binding (*o-pi-de-so-mo* /opidesmōi/) of pack-saddles (*ka-tu-ro*$_2$ < */kant^{h}uliōn/ adjective built on κανθύλη); *ro*$_2$ represents the outcome of the cluster formed by the final liquid of the stem and the *yod* of the suffix before /o/.

ku-pa-ro$_2$ PY An 616.1 (Hand 1, which made a clear mistake in the second sign and wrote a single horizontal stroke [resulting in *-ro-*] instead of two for *pa*), Un 249.1 (Class ii), 267.6+ (Hand 1); variant *ku-pa-ro* KN Ga(3) 454 (Hand 223?), Ga(3) 465.2 (Hand 223), Ga(1) 517.b+ (Hand 135), Ga(3) 8005; also in the adjective *ku-pa-ro-we* PY Fr 1203 (Class ii): cyperus appears in later Greek as κύπαιρος (Alcm.), κύπειρον, κύπερος, a borrowing; the various Greek forms may point to a formation with a *-yo-* suffix; if so, *ro*$_2$ may stand for the treatment of *-ryo-*.

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[86] The epithet prob. identified the fish as a 'redfish', e.g. red mullet, but, after the elimination of labiovelars, it was related to λοπός 'scale' resulting in a banal adjective 'scaly' suitable for almost every kind of fish.

[87] Or actually an ethnic, cf. BEEKES 1997.

po-pu-ro$_2$ KN L 758.a: an adjective in *-yo-* from πορφύρα or the like (the variants *po-pu-re-ja* KN L[7] 474 [Hand 211] and *po-pu-re-jo*[KN X 976.1a [Hand 225] are probably formed with a different suffix *-eyo-*); here *ro*$_2$ stands for the treatment of *-ryo-*.

qe-ro$_2$ KN K(1) 740.3.6 (Hand 102?), Sk 789.A+ (Hand 206): in both cases a metal artifact used as a defensive weapon, perhaps a lobster corselet; poss. **sk^{w}el-yon*, cf. Aeol. σπέλλιον?, ψέλ(λ)ιον 'bracelet, anklet'; *ro*$_2$ stands for the treatment of *-lyo-*.

tu-ro$_2$ PY Un 718.4 (Hand 24), 1185.2 (Hand 1), poss. also Xn 1483.3: 'cheese', cf. τῦρός, but the Mycenaean word cannot be an adjective */tūr-yos/ built on **tū-ros* 'curdled, coagulated, swollen', from **tewh*$_2$- 'to swell' (*LIV* 639), since we would expect an *-iyo*-form; it is preferable to follow MEIER-BRÜGGER 2004 who reconstructs an *-o-* derivative of an abstract **tūri-*.

Several personal names end in *ro*$_2$. We have no contextual support but in some instances they could represent nicknames with expressive gemination and/or diminutive suffixes:

ko-tu-ro$_2$ PY Cn 436.6 (Hand 1), Eb 839.A+ (Hand 41), 1347.1 (dat.) (Hand 41), Jn 431.2 ([*ro*] after *-ro*$_2$) (Hand 2); TH Of 34.1 (Hand 303): poss. /Kotullōn/ from */Kotulyōn/? cf. Κοτύλος, Κοτυλᾶς *LGPN* I, 270.

ku-ro$_2$ KN As(1) 603.3 (Hand 103), U 4478.17 (Hand 202); PY Ea 814.a (Hand 43); TH Fq 120.2+; gen. *ku-ro*$_2$*-jo* KN B 822.1b: possibly /Skullos/ Σκύλλος *LGPN* I, 408, or /Kullos/ Κύλλος *LGPN* I, 279, /Kūrros/ Κύρτος *LGPN* I, IIIA *s.v.*, and cf. Κυρρίας *LGPN* IIA, *s.v.*

pa-ku-ro$_2$ PY Aq 218.10 (Hand 21), Jn 750.8 (Hand 2): prob. /P^{h}ak^{h}ullos/ from */P^{h}ak^{h}ulyos/? cf. Παχυλλᾶς *LGPN* I, 367.

u-ro$_2$ KN Db 5367 (Hand 117): poss. /Hullos/ from */Hulyos/? Ὕλλος *LGPN* I, 450.

**56-ro*$_2$ KN Dv 1422.B (Hand 117): poss. a form in /llos/ from /lyos/; cf. alph. Gr. βαλιός, 'spotted'?? But see MELENA 1987b for the value of **56* which opens the possibility that this is a Pre-Greek name.[88]

Although the more frequent rendering of *ro*$_2$ seems to represent the product of the depalatalization of a palatalized liquid (/rro, llo/ < /rr'o, ll'o/ < **ryo*, **lyo*), it is possible that in some instances we are dealing with expressive gemination (particularly in personal names) and with the treatment of a cluster such as *-ln-*.

In general the syllabograms *ra*$_2$ and *ro*$_2$ are mostly used in the terminations of the *a-* and *o*-stems respectively. It is likely that the Linear A sign 𐘦, if it also stands for *ra*$_2$?, may have acted as the catalyst for the creation of *ro*$_2$ in Linear B. The question whether this is a complete series and includes *re*$_2$?? and *ru*$_2$??, or is defective, can only be answered through an examination of the remaining untransliterated syllabograms.

[88] BEEKES 2010 *s.v.* mentions Athanassakis' idea of an Illyrian borrowing, but gives <?> as source for the etymon.

§17.3.3.3.2. *Yodized labials:* Unus testis? *The syllabogram* *62, pte

The syllabogram **pte* (𐀔) is a Linear B innovation which occurs in texts from Knossos, Pylos and Tiryns. To date it is widely attested in WORD-INTERNAL position in two words:

A) *di-pte-ra* PY Ub 1318.1+ (Hand 32); TI Uh 12.2; *di-pte-ra*$_3$ PY Ub 1315.1 (Hand 31) /dip^{h}t^{h}era/ διφθέρα '(treated) hide'; compound *di-pte-ra-po-ro* PY Ea 814: *di-<pte->ra-po-ro* (correction of *di-ra-po-ro*) (Hand 43), Fn 50.6 (Class iii), Un 219.6 (*-pte-* over ⟦*pe*⟧) (Hand 15); TI Uh 12.2; *di*[*-pte-ra-*]*po-ro-i* KN C 954.3 compound with /°p^{h}oros/ 'bearer of hides (used as garments or parchment?)'. At Knossos the evidence is limited to the logogram *DIPTE*. Cf. Cypr. διφθεράλοιφος 'schoolmaster < writer (anointer) on parchment'. It is not relevant that we never find the full spelling ***di-pe-te-ra*, as it is likely that the erasure of *pe* and the use of *pte* on Un 219.6 shows that Hand 15 at Pylos was aware of the need to correct an attempted full spelling.

B) *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja* PY An 35.5 (Hand 3), Un 443.1 (Hand 6); TI X 6.b: *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*[, /struptēri^{j}a/ στρυπτηρία 'alum', cf. also dissimilated στυπτηρία. *tu-ru-pe-te*[on the fragmentary KN X 986 (over ⟦⟧) could be a full spelling. It is a nominalized adjective (*scil.* γᾶ) presumably built on an agentive noun */struptēr/, cf. στρυφνός 'astringent'.[89]

In FINAL position, the syllabogram is exclusively attested in agentive nouns in /-tēr/ built on verbal roots ending in bilabial:

ka-pte KN Df 1230.B (Hand 117) MN /(S)ka(m)ptēr/, built on σκάπτω or κάμπτω; *ra-pte* PY An 172.1 (Hand 1), Ea 28+ (Hand 43); *ra-pte-re* KN Fh 1056, V(2) 159.5 (Hand 124); PY An 207.14+ (Hand 43): professional title /raptēr/ 'leather-worker, saddler' from ῥάπτω, adjective *ra-pte-ri-ja* PY Ub 1315.2 (Hand 31); a third noun *]*ku-pte* possibly from κύπτω can be inferred from the probable dat.]*ku-pte-si* KN Fh 5432 (]*-pte-si*) (Hand 141); the same stem may also yield an adjective in /-ei^{j}o-/, *ku-pe-te-jo* KN X 974.b.[90]

In INITIAL position the syllabogram is, to date, only attested at Knossos in the technical vocabulary of the wainwright, used by several writers:

pte-no KN Sd 4402+ (Hand 128) /pternō/ (or /ptērnō/) 'two heels (i.e. foot-boards, pedals)', πτέρνη, < **persnā*, cf. Lat. *perna*, Ved. *pā́rṣṇi* (< **tpērsneh*$_2$ LUBOTSKY 2006);

pte-re-wa KN Se 879.a+ (Hand 127), So(1) 4429.2+ (Hand 130); *pte-re-e*[on KN So 4435.A (perhaps in Hand 128) poss. could be read *pte-re-wi*[*-ja*. In So(1) 4429.b

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[89] In addition, at Knossos there are a few MNs which could stand for /p$^{(h)}$t$^{(h)}$/: **o-pe-te-u* dat. *o-pe-te-we* KN So 4447 (Hand 129?); gen.]*o-pe-te-wo-qe* KN L(2) 593.Aa (Hand 103) is better understood as /Op^{h}eltēus/ cf. Ὀφέλτᾱς *LGPN* I, 355; the strange *si-ra-pe-te-me* or *si-ra-pe-te-so* KN V(6) 832.2 is poss. of Minoan stock. At Pylos the spelling of the adjective *a-pe-te-me-ne* on Ta 709.1 and the MN *a-pe-te-u* on Jn 692.2+ and *o-pe-te-re-u* on Ea 805+ apparently do not involve the cluster /pt/.

[90] A MN *te-ra-pe-te* perhaps /T^{h}eraptēr/ is attested on KN V(2) 147.5 (Hand 124).

Hand 130 replaced *pe-* with *pte-*; the full spelling[91] appears as *pe-te-re-wa* in KN So 894.1: gen. /ptelewās/ 'of elm (wood)', cf. πτελέη.

At first sight the *pte* syllabogram seems isolated in the structure of the syllabary, but the phonetic evolution of Greek can easily explain it if an earlier value /pje/ is postulated for the time of the Linear B adoption. The palatalized[92] labials never underwent a full palatalization, but were replaced by the consonantal cluster /pt/,[93] which also arose from the encounter of a labial with an apical (e.g. in the /-tēr/ suffix); hence it is not surprising that an original */pje/ sign can be used for both.

Once the sign was used for this cluster, it could be also used for noting the aspirated counterpart /p^ht^h/ of different origin.[94] It is still an open question whether or not this sign stood alone in its series. Vowel frequency would suggest the existence of at least a corresponding sign for /pta/, perhaps inherited from Linear A, which would have acted as catalyst for *pte*, and also for a possible *pto*-sign, in this case well supported by morphemic yield (nouns in *-tă*[*s*] vs nouns in *-tēr* from labial stems, verbal adjectives, 3rd plur. ending, etc.), but so far all attempts to identify such signs have failed.

§17.3.3.3.3. *Corollary*

All these consonantal clusters with R+/y/ (yodized) went through a process of palatalization, which changed them into palatalized geminates. Gemination clashes markedly with the open-syllable structure of the Linear B syllabary where consonants appearing in the syllabic coda as a rule are not written, since geminates are by definition 'long' or 'double' consonants articulated both in the onset of the syllable and in the coda of the preceding syllable. This fact could be taken as an argument in favour of the absence of syllabograms for geminate plus vowel in absolute initial, a fact that fits with the distribution of rV_2, but not with that of *pte*. On the other hand, these signs for 'palatalized

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[91] The Knossos MN *pe-te-ki-ja* As(2) 1516.7 (Hand 101) and *pe-te-u* KN As(1) 603.3 (Hand 103) probably did not have an initial cluster /pt/.

[92] Palatalization in labials is triggered by a following *yod*, but in absolute initial position palatalization may be a demarcative feature (MELENA 1976), not necessarily conditioned by a phonological trigger.

[93] There is no evidence for the plain voiced labial plus *yod*, but the fact that the aspirated labial plus *yod* is also substituted by /pt/ may indicate that 'palatalization' developed when the aspirated stop was already unvoiced. In the case of labials, full palatalization resulting in an affricate is very rare and has been attributed either to a misperception (OHALA 1978) or to an overlap of articulatory gestures involving a palatal glide hardening (BATEMAN 2007), and there is no evidence either for positing that alph. Gr. πτ resulted from a simplification of /pʃ/.

[94] The sign *pte* could be interpreted as due to a traditional spelling in *pte-no* and *pte-re-wa* in contrast with the full spelling of *pe-te-re-wa*, but the evidence is mostly absent.

geminates' came also to be used for plain geminates from a different source. However, the theoretical problem may be solved by considering them as representing 'strong' consonants articulated in the onset of the syllables, that is, there was not a syllabic boundary inside these strong or double consonants, at least in the graphic usage of the scribes (there is no question of consonantal length, cf. LADEFOGED – MADDIESON 1996, §3.4, 91ff.). So, strictly speaking, we cannot argue that these signs stand neither for 'geminates' nor for 'palatalized' consonants, and that there is nothing to be gained by maintaining the terms 'doublets'[95] and 'complex signs',[96] and it is preferable not to use them.

§17.3.3.4. The series for 'voiced' labials

The series for 'voiced' labials renders clusters of voiced and aspirated labials plus vowel (/bV/, /p^hV/ [< */b^hV/]). This series could indicate that the aspirated stops inherited from PIE were still voiced at the time when the script was borrowed from Linear A and could also point to the possible existence of pre-nasalized stops in Linear A. That pre-nasalization is essentially considered to be a pre-Mycenaean feature.

The Salamanca Convention transliterated the sign *29 with pu_2 meant to render /p^hu/ or /bu/, but the evidence points to the existence of a whole series, although restricted to three vocalic values (perhaps to be drawn back to the hypothetical three vowel system of Linear A). As was argued elsewhere (MELENA 1987b), the proposed series would also include the syllabograms *22 and *56 transcribed below as $pi_2^{??}$ and $pa_2^{??}$:

	VOWEL *ă*	VOWEL *ĭ*	VOWEL *ŭ*
CONSONANT	(-)$pa_2^{??}$(-)	(-)$pi_2^{??}$(-)	(-)pu_2(-).

§17.3.3.4.1. *The syllabogram* *29 pu_2

It is convenient to consider here the one certain representative of the 'voiced' labial series: the sign *29 (𐀳), inherited from Linear A (𐁄), is attested at Knossos, Pylos and Thebes.

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[95] 'Doublet' is a descriptive term, coined by Lejeune, for naming the signs that are variants of the same value (homophones), while distinguishing them by means of numerical subindices: *ra, ra_2, ra_3* (against the original practice of using indices instead: *ra, ra^2, ra^3* (*Études Mycéniennes*, 228). On the use of 'doublet' in Linear B, see *Companion* 1, 246.

[96] 'Complex' describes the archetypical combination of a consonant plus a *yod* or a *wau* before vowel, independently of the actual phonemic value. ra_2 is a doublet, but also a complex *rja*; *pte* alternates with a full writing *pe-te*, is originally a complex **pje*. On the use of 'complex' and 'pseudo-complex' in Linear B, see *Companion* 1, 246-247.

In INITIAL position the syllabogram *29 is widely attested in MNs. The most notable is *pu$_2$-ke-qi-ri* PY Ta 711.1 (Hand 2); dat. *pu$_2$-ke-qi-ri-ne* TH Gp 119.1 (Hand 308); derivative *pu$_2$-ke-qi-ri-ne-ja* TH Of 27.3 (Hand 303)[97], a compound with the verbal stem /P^{h}uge°/ < PIE **b^{h}ewg-* 'flee' as its first member, cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 2009.

Other MNs are: *pu$_2$-ra-ne-jo* KN B(5) 799.6 (Hand 104), obscure; *pu$_2$-re-wa* KN Sc 243 (Hand 124-F), cf. the variant *pu-re-wa* KN U 4478.5 (Hand 202); TH Of 26.1 (Hand 303), /P^{h}ulewas/ cf. Φυλεύς *LGPN* II, 467; *pu$_2$-ru-da-ro* KN Uf 432.3, /P^{h}ludaros/, alph. Gr. φλυδαρός, φλυδάω; *pu$_2$-ṣi-ja-ko* PY Jn 310.17 (Hand 2), /P^{h}usi^{j}ark^{h}os/; *pu$_2$-ti-ja* PY An 656.13 (Hand 1), Jn 601.3 (Hand 2), poss. /P^{h}ut$^{(h)}$i^{j}as/; and *pu$_2$-to* KN Uf 1522.2, perhaps /P^{h}ūt$^{(h)}$ōn/[98].

pu$_2$-ra$_2$-a-ke-re-u PY Nn 228.3 and *pu$_2$-ra$_2$-a-ki-ri-jo* Na 425 (Hand 1) /P^{h}uliā°/ cf. φυλίᾱ 'wild olive tree', /P^{h}ullāhagrēus/, /P^{h}ullāhagri^{j}os/. The two-vowel sequence may point to a first member in the gen. or may mark the compound boundary (/P^{h}ullā$^{\#}$agrēus/, /P^{h}ullā$^{\#}$agri^{j}os/) for the inhabitant of the Oleaster Fields.

pu$_2$-te-re KN V(2) 159.4 (Hand 124); PY Na 520.B (Hand 1), noun in *-tēr* /p^{h}utēres/, 'planters' cf. φυταλιά 'planted place'.

Another instance can be seen in the compound MN *su-ko-pu$_2$-te-e* TH Oq 434.7 (the editors classified the tablet as Uq), clearly a dat. preceded by *pa-ro*: perhaps in origin an adjective in -ης as expected in possessive compounds. The first member is συκο°, but the second member is unclear, since no relevant *o/es*-noun is attested in alph. Gr. which could fit the Mycenaean spelling; however, the comparison between the verbal adjective βατός and the compound χαλχοβατές *Il.* I.426+ may allow us to postulate a /sukop^{h}utēs/ compound next to the verbal adjective φυτός. 'He who owns an orchard planted with figtrees' could be a suitable meaning for a compound which yielded a personal name.

To the same root belongs ?*pe-*]*pu$_2$-te-me-no* PY Er 880.2 (Hand 24), probably the perfect participle acc. /p^{h}e]p^{h}utēmenon/ 'planted' of an athematic *φύτημι.

In INTERNAL position at Pylos we find *a-pu$_2$-we* An 427.1 (Hand 3), Cn 608.7 (Hand 1), Jn 693.5+ (Hand 2), Ma 124.1 (Hand 2), Qa 1294 (Hand 15), dat.-loc., and *a-pu$_2$-de* Vn 20.7 (Hand 25), all. of **a-pu$_2$*. The PN *a-pu$_2$-ja* Jo 438.11 (Class i) may refer to the region (γᾶ) of **a-pu$_2$*. An interpretation /Alp^{h}us/, Gr. alph. ἅλφός, is likely. Perhaps the same root recurs in *a-pu$_2$-ka-ne* An 656.13+ (Hand 1), ethnic adjective in *-ānes*, and *a-pu$_2$-ka* An 656.20 (Hand 1) (cf. also KN Uf[1] 111.a+, Hand 124-R).

re-u-ko-ro-o-pu$_2$-ru PY Jn 415.2 (Hand 2), MN, /Leukrohop^{h}rus/, 'White-crested', either a juxtaposition or a compound marked as such by the double writing of the vowel, /Leuk-ro-/° < **leuk-*, and °ὀφρῦς, cf. Λευκοκόμας *LGPN* I, 286, and for the meaning Λευκόλοφος *LGPN* III.B, 258.

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[97] A probable hypocoristic is *pu$_2$-ke* MY Ge 602.2+ (Hand 57).

[98] If the last two MNs are built on alph. Gr. Πυθώ, the Mycenaean evidence may provide further support for a post-Mycenaean date of Grassmann's Law.

At Pylos the ethnic *ze-pu$_2$-ra-o* PY Ad 664 (Hand 23), gen. plur.; *ze-pu$_2$-ra$_3$* PY Aa 61 (Hand 4), nom. plur., /dʒep^{h}urai/, 'women from Halikarnassos' (cf. Ζεφυρίαι, ancient name of Halikarnassos); *ze-pu$_2$-ro* PY Ea 56 (Hand 43), MN, /dʒep^{h}uros/. A possible variant at Knossos: *ze-pu*[Xd <333> (Hand 124?). All of them based on alph. Gr. ζέφυρος, '(North)West wind'.

In INTERNAL position at Knossos most notably we found: the sanctuary name *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo* Gg(1) 702.2 (Hand 103), Oa 745.2, gen. /Laburint^{h}oi^{j}o/ (probably a Pre-Greek loan); an alternative spelling is *da-pu-ri-ṭọ*[Xd 140.1 (Hand 124-7) (with perhaps]*ḍạ-pụ*[X 9201.1). The PN *i-ja-pu$_2$-we* Lc 646.C (Hand 103), dat.-loc., with the derived adjective]*i-ja-pu$_2$-wi-ja* Lc(1) 541.B (Hand 103), G 820.2, perhaps hides a non-Greek name. Finally we have the obscure Knossos MNs:

du-pu$_2$-ra-zo Da 1173 (Hand 117), V(3) 479.1 (Hand 115) (a variant [?] *da-pu$_2$-ra-zo* is painted on a vessel), *du-pu$_2$-so* Fh 343 (Hand 141), and *e-pu$_2$-no* Ga(2) 427.2 (Hand 136), X 8295;]*ka-pu$_2$-ṇi-jo* or]*ka-pu$_2$-ṣạ-jo* X 1018; *ke-pu$_2$-jẹ-u* Vc(1) 7575 (Hand 124). One name *si-ja-pu$_2$-ro* As(2) 1516.11, where *-pu$_2$-* is perhaps written over [[*pụ*]] demonstrates that the writer (Hand 101) was aware of the differentiation and succeeded in making a correction in time replacing a former *pu*.

In FINAL position the evidence is almost non-existent: only the MN *si-pu$_2$* KN As(2) 1516.4 (Hand 101) probably of non-Greek stock.

In spite of the limited occurrences of the syllabogram, its usage seems well established for /p^{h}u/ < /b^{h}u/ and we have at least one clear instance of /bu/. Further implications will be examined in due course.

§17.3.3.5. Extra-systemic syllabograms

There are at least two signs in the additional syllabary that seem not to belong to any series: **25 a$_2$*, and **66 ta$_2$*. In other words, they are not part of any system: they are extra-systemic.[99] On the other hand, *ta$_2$* was formerly seen (and still is seen) as a 'yodized' sign, i.e. as representing a /tya/ sequence, although its usage may involve an attempt to render a /sta/ cluster.

§17.3.3.5.1. *The syllabogram* *25 a$_2$

The sign **25 a$_2$* () is a Linear B innovation attested at Knossos, Pylos, Mycenae, Thebes and Aghios Vasileios (Lakonia). It is normally interpreted[100] as /ha/, i.e. as marking an aspiration followed by /a/, as shown by some of the words of certain etymology in which it occurs: *a$_2$-te-ro*, 'other', alph. Gr.

[99] After LEJEUNE 1968, 137 ('hors système'); cf. also CONSANI 1984 (1985).
[100] For a recent linguistic approach to the sign see PIERINI 2012.

(dial.) ἕτερος (< *sm̥-tero-); *we-a₂-no-i*, dat. plur., 'robes', alph. Gr. ἑᾰνός (< *wes-, 'wear'), and by the alternations between a_2 and *a* in e.g. *pa-we-a₂* /pa-we-a/, nom.-acc. neut. plur., 'pieces of cloth', alph. Gr. φᾶρος.

However, there are no other signs for /hV/ and the syllabogram a_2 may have started as a demarcative sign mainly used in word-initial position or as a marker for a compound boundary. The tendency to multiply signs with an *a*-vowel (since this has higher frequency than the other vowels) may account for the use of a_2 to note phonemic aspiration. It is notable that the majority of words with a_2 use the sign initially or at the start of the second element of a compound. Examples are discussed below.

(i) We have instances of one and the same word or root which appears with a_2 in both these positions.

It marks initial aspiration before /a/ in a wide group of words based on /hal-s/ < *seh₂-l-, alph. Gr. ἅλς 'salt', at Pylos: *a₂-ṛọ*[ ]*ụ-do-pi* /halos[](h)udop^{h}i/ < */halos[](h)udn̥p^{h}i/ 'with aquamarines' Ta 642.1 (Hand 2); PN *a₂-ru-wo-te* /Halwontei/ An 657.8 (Hand 1), PN *a₂-ra-tu-a* Cn 3.3 (Hand 1) and the variant *a₂-ra-tu-wa* An 519.4 (Hand 1), prob. /Halatwa/; in the second member of compounds: the common MN at Pylos *a-pi-a₂-ro* /Amp^{h}ihalos/ An 192.1 (Hand 22), Ea 109+ (Hand 43), Jn 478.3 (Hand 2), On 300.2 (Class ii Stylus 300), Qa 1297 (Hand 15), and the hypostatic noun *o-pi-a₂-ra* /opihala/ 'coastal regions' in the heading of PY An 657.1 (Hand 1); a MN *a₃-ki-a₂-ri-jo* /Aigihali^{j}os/ PY Fn 50.4 (Class iii), 79.15 (Hand 45) built on **a₃-ki-a₂-ro*, cf. Αἰγιαλός *LGPN* III.B, 17.

At Thebes the PN *a₃-ki-a₂-ri-ja* /Aigihali^{j}ā/ occurs on Of 25.1 (Hand 303, which neglected to use a_3 in *a-ki-a₂-ri-ja-de* TH Of 35.2, presumably the same word rather than a putative /ank^{h}i-/ compound); *ṇẹ-a₂-ri-da* (or *ɋạ-a₂-ri-da*) Of 39.2 (same Hand) could be an *-idā-* derivative from /hal-/, and, if so, *ṇẹ-* or *ɋạ-* would be a first member of compound (**nes-*?, **kwā-*?).

(ii) In other examples the sign a_2 appears at compound boundary, but we do not always know how to account for it; it could be due to an initial etymological aspiration of the second element of the compound or conceivably to the aspiration of the final /s/ of the first element if followed by a second element which started with /a-/, though this is more difficult to justify (see now MELENA 2013):

a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-jo PY An 661.12 (Hand 1), PN or ethnic adjective (cf. the adjective *a₂-ka-a₂-ki-ri-ja-jo* PY Cn 3.7 in the same Hand): either from °αγρος (< *h_2eĝ-) 'territory' or °ακρος (< *h_2eḱ-) 'point'. In either case the second member has no initial aspiration; if there was an aspiration, it could have been prompted by the aspiration of a final /-s/ of the first member, most probably in the gen. (**Hakās*), which is improbable on chronological grounds (MELENA 2013); the same could be true of the PN *ru-ko-a₂-ɋẹ-re-u-te* PY Jn 415.1 (Hand 2) which can be compared, cf. *a-ke-re-u-te* MY Ge 606.2 (Hand 57), which would support an interpretation of the first member as the gen. Λυγκος° from λύγξ 'lynx'. A similar formation may be found in the PN]*a₂-ke-wo-a-ki-ri* PY Na 928 (Hand 1), new reading as a result of a join (MELENA 1994-1995, 284): first member gen.

of a name in -εύς, *a_2-ke-u* perhaps built on *a_2-ka*°; the second member is perhaps °ακρις or °ακρι‹ος›. This PN could be a variant of the previous one (cf. also the PN *a_2-ki-ja* PY An 830.13 [Hand 1] PN perhaps also built on on *a_2-ka*°).

At compound boundary we may also find alternations between a_2 and the unmarked signs (*a, ja, a_3*):

au-to-a_2-ta MN PY Cn 314.3 (Class i) (]-*a_2-ta* PY An 172.10 [Hand 1]); ?N *au-to-ṣ*[PY Cn 938.1 (Hand 21); cf. also the MN *au-to-a_3-ta* KN Ch 972 (Hand 110?); and the MN *au-to-*34-ta-ra* PY Fn 187.10 (Hand 2) discussed above.

ko-ri-a_2-da-na PY Un 267.5 (Hand 1); MY Ge 605.4B.5 (Hand 57), with the variants *ko-ri-ja-da-na* MY Ge 605.2B.3B (Hand 57); PY Un 616.5 (Hand 1) and *ko-ri-ja-do-no* KN Ga(2) 415+ (Hand 136), Ga(1) 674.b+ (Hand 135); the name of 'coriander' is probably of non-Greek origin, but it was associated at an early stage with κόρις 'bed-bug', so the phytonym could have been analysed as a compound justifying the writing of a_2 as a boundary mark.

pu[ ]-*a_2-ko* PY An 340.7 (Hand 22) MN; if it is a variant form of *pu_2-ṣi-ja-ko* PY Jn 310.17 (Hand 2), most probably a compound in °αρχος and the aspiration is unexpected. Φῦσί° is a likely first member.

Most frequently a_2 occurs in word-initial position, though we do not always know how to interpret the relevant word.

Several place-names of unclear etymology start with *a_2-*: *a_2-ki-ra* PY Na 856 and *a_2-ma-i-wa* PY Na 1092 (Hand 1); Hand 21 wrote also two place-names with *a_2-*: *a_2-ne-u-te* PY Cn 599.2, perhaps written as *a-ne-u-te* PY Cn 40.7 by the same writer (it could be a loc. in /-t^{h}ei/ from an -εύς form or merely ἄνευθε from **senh$_x$*-?); and *a_2-pa-tu-wo-te* PY Cn 599.3.4.5.7, a locative /-wont-ei/ (start from **a_2-pa*, /Hap$^{(h)}$a-/ gen. **a_2-pa-to*?). On the allative *a_2-pa-a_2-de* TH Wu 94.β (γ), see below.

A series of personal names beginning with a_2- have unclear or uncertain etymologies; a few other words may be listed here though their status as MNs is uncertain:

a_2-di-je-u PY An 656.2 (Hand 1) MN, cf. gen. *a-di-je-wo* KN D 747.a, 5520.a, /Hadi^{j}eus/ or /Adi^{j}eus/. Unclear, but possibly a hypocoristic of a compound with ἀδι°, cf. ἀδρός 'strong, ripe' < **seh$_2$dlt*-, e.g. **a_2-di-ra-wo* cf. Ἀδίλης *LGPN* I, 14.

a_2-e-ta PY An 261.4 (Hand 43) MN, ?/Hah-ertās/, cf. Λαέρτᾱς? The first member is unclear.

a_2-ku-mi-jo PY Na 926.a (Hand 1), a probable MN /Ak^{h}urmi^{j}os/ and not a noun or adjective ἀχύρμιον 'chaff'. In any case no initial aspiration seems justified, unless the alph. Gr. forms display a case of Grassmann's Law.

a_2-ku-ni-jo PY An 656.12 (Hand 1), MN of unclear etymology.

a_2-nu-me-no PY Jn 389.12 (Hand 2) MN -μενος, either from **senh$_2$*- alph. Gr. ἄνῡμι 'accomplish' or a variant of *a_3-nu-me-no*, see above. Against a link with ἄνῡμι is the comparison with the MN *a-nu-to* (KN, TH *passim*).

a_2-ra-ka-wo PY Cn 1287.7 (Hand 31) MN of unclear identification: compound with a /^{h}kawos/ second member (cf. *pu-ka-wo*) or name in **-āwon*-; first member /Har/ la-(k)/??

a_2-ta PY An 209.2 (Hand 1) MN (cf. perhaps possible]*a_2-ta* KN B[4] 213, Hand 124-B) along with a variant *a-ta* KN As(1) 602.3 (Hand 103); PY An 39*v*.9

(Class iii) ?/Haltās/, alph. Gr. ἅλλομαι 'leap'. The Lat. cognate *saliō* also supports an aspiration from **s-*.

a_2-ta-o TH Xp 189.7 (*a-ta-o* PY An 340.1+, *a-ta-o-jo* PY Vn 1191.5). Obscure.

a_2-te-po PY An 519.10 (Hand 1) could be either a PN or MN. Unclear. */sm̥-t^{h}elp^{h}os/?

a_2-zo-qi-jo PY Un 1193.4 (Class i), prob. a MN; cf. also *a-so-qi-jo* KN B(5) 803.2 (Hand 104); second member *°g^wih_3yos > -βιος, first member unclear: /Hasko°/, /Aisk^{h}o°/??, /Aiso°/.

The syllabogram also appears in some vocabulary words:

A description of people, *a_2-ke-te-re* KN V(1) 118 (*a_2-* over ⟦*a*⟧) (Hand 124-4), may be kept apart from the evidence for *a-ke-te-re* PY Jn 832.1 (Hand 2) / *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* fem. KN Ai 739.1+ (Hand 207?). If *ja-ke-te-re* PY Mn 11.2 is a variant of the previous Knossos form, it would show that aspiration could come from *$yeh_2\hat{k}$-, 'repairer', cf. ἄκος, ἀκέομαι.

a_2-ri-e PY An 724.5 (Hand 1) seems to be related to *a_2-ri-sa* PY Eq 213.1 (same Hand). These elusive forms are widely taken as verbals and they show the usual different treatments of intervocalic /s/, aspirated in the athematic present infinitive and restored in the aorist participle: /ha(i)li-hen/ and /ha(i)li-sa-ns/ or /ha(i)ri-hen/ and /ha(i)ri-sa-ns/; however, these transcriptions are merely speculative and, as to their meaning, any relationship with later ἀριθμός 'number' (< PIE *h_2rey- 'count') would imply a secondary aspiration in Mycenaean.

a_2-te-ro PY An 614.4 (Hand 1), Ma 365.2 (Hand 2): ⟦*a_2-te-ro*⟧ /hateron/, adjective, cf. ἕτερος < */sm̥-tero-s/ with /h-/ < */*s*-/.

a_2-to PY Un 1321.1 (Hand 34). Unclear.

There is a group of terms where a_2 appears internally and cannot be interpreted as a boundary mark: *si-a_2-ro* PY Cn 608.1 (Hand 1); *pi-a_2-ra* PY Tn 996.2 (Class iii), cf. *pi-je-ra_3* PY Ta 709.1 (Hand 2). The word *we-a_2-no*[PY Un 1322.5 (Class ii); dat. plur. *we-a_2-no-i* Fr 1225.2 (Class ii Stylus 1217) is the only word in this group which has a clear etymology as a derivative in *-ano-* of the root **wes-* 'to clothe', cf. ἑᾶνός 'cloth'; the sign a_2 here stands for /ha/ with an aspiration which represents an original intervocalic sibilant. The same could be true of *si-a_2-ro* if < **sis-alos* and *pi-a_2-ra* if < **pi-salā* — the spelling *pi-je-ra_3* would show the use of a glide after the aspiration, which in Mycenaean still had phonemic status, had dropped or moved to initial position (/*pi-halā*/ > */p^{h}i-*jalā*/), cf. φιάλη, φιέλη 'bowl' with the same unexplained vocalic alternation.

Another instance is the adjective 'of rock-crystal' *we-a_2-re-jo* PY Ta 714.1 (Hand 2), cf. ὕαλος 'glass, amber', although the same writer wrote *we-a-re-ja* in another tablet of the set (Ta 642.1).

INTERNAL *-a_2-* seems to alternate with *-a-* in *ko-a_2-ta* PY Jn 706.17 (Hand 21), which may be the same MN as *ko-a-ta* KN B 798.8 (Hand 107); if we are dealing with an ethnic in *-tās*, it could be built on a PN perhaps attested at Knossos (*ko-a* X 737). A similar formation may be provided by the MN *wa-a_2-ta* MY Au 102.7 (Hand 52), with the related forms PN *wa-a_2-te-pi* PY Mb 1377 (Hand 14), Na 1009 (Hand 1), and *wa-a_2-te-we* PY An 207.9 (Hand 43), Mn 1371.1 (Hand 14), an ethnic in -εύς built on a PN in *-ā*. In the PN *ro-o-wa* (PY) the *ro-o-* spelling may indicate a /r^{h}o-/ sequence

(LEJEUNE 1972, 120 n. 5). On this model we could start from a PN **wa-a_2*, to be read /W^{h}ā/ and perhaps compared with the PN Ὑάμπολις.

Some writers used *a_2* in final position for rendering the common acc. plur. neuter of *s*-stems.

This sporadic procedure is used for nouns occurring in Knossos (*pa-we-a_2* Ld[2] 786.B+ [Hand 114] *versus pa-we-a* Lc[2] 481.A+ [Hand 113], Lc[1] 528.A+ [Hand 103], Ld[1] 571.b+ [Hand 116], L[7] 592 [Hand 211?], L[1] 594.a+ [Hand 103]; L[2] 5998.A+ [Hand 103]), Mycenae (*pa-we-a_2* L 710.2, Oe 127 [Hand 55], /p^{h}arweha/ 'cloaks', cf. φᾶρος), Pylos (*a-ke-a_2* Vn 130.2 [Hand 1], /angeha/ 'vessels', cf. ἄγγος; *ke-re-a_2* Ta 641.1a [Hand 2], /skeleha/ 'legs', cf. σκέλος; *ru-de-a_2* Ub 1318.3 [Hand 32], /rudeha/ 'thongs', cf. ῥυδεῖ· περι-πλέκεται and Lat. *rudens*) and Aghios Vasileios (*tu-we-a_2* X 4.2, /t^{h}u^{w}eha/ 'perfumes', cf. θύεα).

Adjectives are also attested: as the pair *me-u-jo-a_2* (PY Sh 733+ [Stylus 733 of Class ii] /meiwyoha/ 'smaller (ones)', cf. μείων and *me-zo-a_2* (PY Sh 733+ [Stylus 733 of Class ii], /medzoha/ 'larger [ones]', cf. μέζων), or the wheel descriptions written by Hand 26 on PY tablets *no-pe-re-a_2* Sa 682+ /nōp^{h}eleha/ 'unserviceable', cf. ἀνωφελής and *we-je-ke-a_2* Sa 787.A+ *versus we]-ję-ke-a* in the label Wa 1148.2 (same Hand) /wei^{j}ekeha/ 'serviceable' (< PIE **weyk-* 'be fitting'?) cf. ἐπι-εικής. This shows the occurrence of variation in the same Hand and in PY Sa 843 the writer corrected the plain *a* by erasing it and writing *-a_2* instead. Finally, we have a unique instance of an *s*-suffixed participle neut. plur. *te-tu-ko-wo-a_2* (PY Sa 682 [Hand 26]), cf. *te-tu-ko-wo-a* KN L 871.b (possibly Hand 114), cf. IK X 1.v.1]*ko-wo-a*, /t^{h}et^{h}uk^{h}woha/ 'fully produced', cf. τετευχώς 'prepared'.

The verbal adjective of obligation *qe-te-a_2* PY Un 138.1 (Hand 42); TH Wu 51.γ+ (γ) alternates with plain *qe-te-a* KN Fp(2) 363.1 (Hand 222) 'to be paid', but, due to further alternation with forms with /y/, it shall be discussed below in note 154.

On the other hand, there are a number of instances where *a_2* appears as final syllabogram in proper names (GN, MN, WN and PN) with a wide distribution that includes the main Linear B sites.

The most notable name is that of Hermes (*e-ma-a_2* KN D 411 [actually gen. *e-ma-a_2-o*]; X 9669.b; PY Nn 1357.1 [Hand 1], Tn 316*v*.7 [Hand 44], Un 219.8 [Hand 15]; TH Of 31.3 [Hand 303]).

Three personal names can be grouped together here: *o-re-a_2* PY Ep 705.7 (Hand 1); cf. *o-re-e-wo* PY Cn 600.1+ (Hand 21), poss. a hypocoristic name in -ας from /Orestās/; the WN *a-ne-a_2* MY Fo 101.1 (Hand 53), V 659.6 (Hand 61) poss. a secondary feminine Αἰνήᾱ built on a masc. hypocoristic Αἰνέᾱς (cf. Αἰνησίδᾱμος, Αἰνησίδημος *LGPN* I, 19, etc. and perhaps Αἰνέας *LGPN* I, 18). In the case of the MN *me-nu-a_2* (PY Aq 218.14 [Hand 21], Qa 1293+ [Hand 15]), the variant *me-nu-wa* (KN Sc 238

[Hand 124], V[2] 60.3 [Hand 124-B], Xd 7702 [Hand 124]; PY An 724.2 [Hand 1]) points to a loss of the internal aspiration followed by the formation of a glide after /u/. A fourth case could also be *e-se-re-a*$_2$ PY An 661.2 (Hand 1), obscure MN, but cf. *e-se-re-e-jo* KN Dl(1) 947.A+ (Hand 118) which speaks for an existence of aspiration before -ας.

The Thebes records include a number of forms ending in *a*$_2$: the all. *a*$_2$*-pa-a*$_2$*-de* TH Wu 94.β (γ), where the PN could be replaced by the gen. of a theonym (cf. *qa-ra*$_2$*-to-de* also in Thebes), /Hap^{h}aihāsde/, and two adjectives in *-ja*: *do-ra-a*$_2$*-ja* TH Fq 254.12+ (Hand 305) built on **do-ra-a*$_2$, and *po-to-a*$_2$*-ja-de* TH Av 104.2 (all.) built on **po-to-a*$_2$ /Ptōihai/ 'to the region of P.'; two fragmentary words]*-te-a*$_2$ TH Fq 138.4 (Hand 305) and *te-ri-a*$_2$[TH Gp 157.2 (Hand 309), cf. *te-ri-ja* PY Un 443.3.

There are three different instances of introductory Pylos formulae:

o-a$_2$	Vn 20.1 (Hand 25)
o-da-a$_2$	Aq 64.12+ (Hand 21); Ed 317.1+, En 74.2+, Eq 36.4+ (Hand 1); Ma 90.2+ (Hand 2); Un 718.7.11 (Hand 24)
o-de-qa-a$_2$	On 300.8 (*-qa-a*$_2$ over ⟦*qe pe-ra*⟧) (Stylus 300 of Class ii)

Their alternation suggests that *-a*$_2$ was an independent, tonic and postponed element, perhaps used exclusively at Pylos; hiatus points to the existence of aspiration: /hā-i/, to be related to alph. Gr. ᾗ.

§17.3.3.5.2. *The syllabogram* *66 ta$_2$

The Linear B syllabogram **66 ta*$_2$ (𐀳) continues a similar sign of Linear A (𐘀) and is used at KN, PY, and MY. The agreed transliteration *ta*$_2$ is now supported by the new Knossos fragment X 9338.1, where the sign **66* is written over an erased *ta*. Although **66* is not therefore an untransliterated syllabogram, its phonetic value has not been conclusively settled to date, and the sign needs discussion.[101] As was pointed out by A. Heubeck,[102] the generally accepted value /tja/ is problematic for phonetic, morphological, and orthographic reasons. The main problem is to determine what phonetic substance is concealed under the *ta*$_2$ transliteration. The dossier can be analysed as follows:

	INITIAL	INTERNAL	FINAL
VOCABULARY	Ø	Ø	*ko-ro-ta*$_2$
PLACE-NAMES	Ø	Ø	*a-*[•]*-ta*$_2$ *ra-wa-ra-ta*$_2$

[101] For the dossier, see HEUBECK 1986, 254f. For an analysis, see LEJEUNE 1967, §§3-9, 110ff.
[102] HEUBECK 1986, esp. Section VI. 'The Phonetic value of *ta*$_2$', 254-257.

	INITIAL	INTERNAL	FINAL
PERSONAL NAMES	Ø		
Shepherds		*ọ-ta$_2$-no*	*a-re-ta$_2$*
		]*ka-ta$_2$*[*-ro*	*au-ta$_2$*
			ru-ta$_2$
Other		*ka-ta$_2$-ro*	
		qa-ta$_2$[	
		]*-ta$_2$-mo*	
Women		*ru-ta$_2$-no*	]*ị-ta$_2$* (?)
		]*-ta$_2$-no*[	*wi-da-ma-ta$_2$*

If it is not due to chance[103], the absence of evidence in initial position seems to speak against the possibility that palatalization was involved, since the initial position, characterized as it is by greater articulatory energy, is a suitable place for palatalized plosives. The distribution of **66* is interesting and its absence from initial position will be discussed below.

Since Heubeck is right in claiming that *ra-wa-ra-ṭị-ja* PY An 830.11 (Hand 1) and *ra-u-ra-ti-ja*[104] PY On 300.9 (Class ii) are not variants of the PN *ra-wa-ra-ta* PY An 723.3 (Hand 1) or *ra-wa-ra-ta$_2$* PY An 298.1 (Hand 3), Jn 829.14 (Hand 2), Ma 216.1 (Hand 2), but adjectives derived from the PN which indicate the region (land) where the site *ra-wa-ra-ta$_{(2)}$* lies,[105] there is no clear instance of an alternation between *ti-ja* and *ta$_2$*. Accordingly, *a*-[•]-*ta$_2$*, if related to *a-si-ja-ti-ja* (see below), may again be interpreted as a PN in *-ta$_{(2)}$*, on which an ethnic adjective which indicated the region was built with the Proto-Gr. **-iyā* suffix. The unassibilated forms in *-ti-ja* of the adjectives argue for a preceding /s/ which inhibited assibilation (cf. ἐστί). If so, both place-names would end in /-sta(-)/.

Since a second wave of assibilation cannot be represented by final *-ta$_2$*, but ultimately by *sja*[??], the Pylian PN *a*-[•]-*ta$_2$* shows clearly that if a value /sja/ is given to [•], the same value cannot be given to the subsequent *ta$_2$*. Moreover, a recent assibilation or allegro variant seems to be excluded.

Furthermore, the personal names *ru-ta$_2$* and *ru-ta$_2$-no* may be based on a PN and its derivative. It is not far-fetched therefore to suggest that /-stā/ might represent an alternative form of the well-attested PN's suffix /-stos/, perhaps of possessive character:[106]

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[103] Sequences of the *#t$^{(h)}$iV-* type should have yielded a /SV/ sequence as in e.g. σέβομαι, σεμνός, from **tyeg^w-*, and therefore are almost absent in Greek (apart from several glosses, we only have the τιάρα and θίασος constellations).

[104] Cf. *ra-u-ra-ta* KN Dd 1300.B (Hand 117), PN used as nickname?

[105] HEUBECK 1986, 257.

[106] See LEUKART 1994, §§99f.

Γερα(ι)στός, Ὀγχηστός, Τυφρηστός, and, with regressive accent, Λύκαστος. We may wonder whether e.g. in the PN *ra-wa-ra-ta*$_2$, *-ta*$_2$ represents a feminine plur. /-stai/, e.g. /Laurā-stai/ 'The Mines', cf. λαύρᾱ and Λαύρειον, to be included in the series of Ὀλυμπᾶσταί, Λυγκησταί, and so on, which was later confused with the compounds in °*wastai*, °*wastos*. Similarly, the PN *a-*[•]*-ta*$_2$ may conceal /Asiāstai/, while *a-si-ja-ti-ja* PY Ae 134+ (Hand 42), Cn 4.1+ (Hand 21), Jn 750.1+ (Hand 2), On 300.11 (Class ii), Xa 639 (Class ii) could be /Asiāstiꜝā (kʰōrā)/, cf. Ἀσίᾱ.

Much weight can be attributed to *ko-ro-ta*$_2$ KN Ld(1) 587.2+ (Hand 116), since it is a vocabulary word, whose interpretation is supported by context. It is likely that it is a description of garments (cf. KN Od 485.a+ [Hand 115], MY Oe 106.1 [Hand 51]) and, although there are two possible renderings /klōsta/ 'spun' or /kʰrōsta/ 'dyed',[107] both interpretations show a cluster /st/ before /a/, a fact that matches the evidence of the place-names and their regional names, with their failure to assibilate the *-ti-* sequence.

Additional evidence can be obtained from personal names, though unfortunately the context does not help with their interpretation. A list follows and for each name an attempt is made to see if a reading /sta/ or /stā/ of *ta*$_2$ is possible.

a-re-ta$_2$ KN Df 1325.B (Hand 117), X 7556.B, MN /Arestās/ cf. ἀρέσκω 'make good' (Ἄρεστος *LGPN passim*; Ἄρεστον *LGPN passim*).

au-ta$_2$ KN Db 1166.B (Hand 117), MN /Austās/ (< *h_2ews-) cf. αὔω 'light a fire'.

ka-ṭą$_2$-ṛǫ KN As(1) 604.1 (Hand 103), MN /Kastalos/ cf. Κασταλία κρήνη (Κάσταλος *LGPN* III.A, 239; Καστάλιος *LGPN* II, 251, III.B, 227; Κασταλία 2 instances, *LGPN* I, 253, III.A, 239), cf.]*ka-ta*$_2$[KN X 8197, although it could be also a MN ending in *-ta*$_2$.

ǫ-ta$_2$-no KN Dv 1493 (Hand 117) and poss. Dv 9663bis (Hand 117), ?/Ostanos/, MN.

ru-ta$_2$ KN Db 5272.B (Hand 117), /Rustās/ MN, cf. ῥύζω 'snarl'??

ru-ta$_2$-no KN Ap 639.12 (Hand 103), /Rustānō/ WN, cf. ῥύζω??

wi-da-ma-ta$_2$ KN Ap 639.9 (Hand 103), Ln 1568.1b (Hand 103), compound WN with °*damastā* cf. ἀδάμαστος 'untamed'. It is uncertain whether *wi-* could be equivalent to the *wi-pi-* /wī-pʰi/ 'with strength' found e.g. in the MN *wi-pi-no-o*.

Fragmentary:

qa-ta$_2$[KN X 7608, /Gwasta[/, cf. βαστάζω 'lift up'?? (if complete, cf. Βάστας *LGPN passim*).

]*-ta$_2$-mo* KN X 9338.1, /]-stāmos/ or /]-stāmōn/ cf. στήμων 'warp' (Ἐπιστήμων 3 instances, *LGPN* II, 151), and °στημος.

It is possible therefore that *ta*$_2$ indicates /sta/, and the main question now is why it is not attested in initial position, since Mycenaean syllabification rules presuppose the same rendering in initial as in internal position. We do have, on the other hand, Mycenaean words which are likely to begin with /sta-/ or /stā-/, all based on *$steh_2$-. They are tabulated below together with their scribal Hand:

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[107] See F. Aura, *Diccionario* I, 386, for references. Let us emphasize that a transcription *tai*$^{?}$ for **66* is *non liquet!*, since *ko-ro-ta*$_2$ is plur. neuter, and the personal names with final *-ta*$_2$ can only be singular!

ta_2	HAND	MYC. FORM	INTERPRETATION	REFERENCE
–	KN 136	*ta-si-ko-ṇo*	/Stāsigonos/	*Mykenaïka*, 253 n. 71
+	KN 103, 117	*ta-so*	/Stasōn/	*Diccionario* II, 319
–	KN 111	*ta-so*	/Stasōn/	*Diccionario* II, 319
–	PY 1	*ta-ta-ke-u*	/Startāgēus/	*Diccionario* II, 320
			/Stāt-ark^{h}ēus/	*Minos* 19, 1985, 201f.
–	PY 1	*ta-te-re*	/Statēres/	*Diccionario* II, 320
–	PY 1	*ta-ti-qo-we-u*	/Stātig^{w}owēus/	*Diccionario* II, 320f.
		to be excluded if	/Tāti-g^{w}owēus/	PLATH 1999, 511f.
–	PY 21	*ta-to*	/Statōn/	*Diccionario* II, 321
–	PY 21	*ta-to-mo*	/stat^{h}mos/	*Diccionario* II, 321

(+/– denotes the use or not of syllabogram ta_2 by scribes)

The results are highly significant: at Pylos Hand 1 is the main non-specialized scribe and is responsible for the greatest number of documents in the archive. Therefore the absence of the syllabograms **19*, **56*, **66*, **71* and **91*, used by other Pylos scribes, in the texts by Hand 1 is most probably due not to the gaps in our evidence, but to a personal choice, namely, to the scribe's own writing routine of Hand 1. For example, he wrote *ra-wa-ra-ta* for the PN in An 723.3. The same is true of Hand 21 who never writes ta_2.

So, the 'inconsistency' in writing /sta/ in internal position and not in initial position depends solely on the interpretation of the personal name *ta-so* by the key Knossos scribes 103 and 117, which both use **66*. Not much weight should be given to a disyllabic MN, which several interpretations are possible and which could even conceal a non-Greek MN corresponding to the WN *ta-su* (Ln 1568.2b, Hand 103). In view of the Pylos evidence, it is better to abandon the interpretation /Stasōn/ for *ta-so* from now on.

When confronted with a sequence of the VstV type we expect a (C)VsltV syllabification. Lejeune[108] argues that the spellings with a double sigma found in alphabetic inscriptions (e.g. αρισστος, εσστᾶσε, Ϝαλισσκεται) in fact speak for a syllabic division after the /s/ and before the stop. A Linear B spelling of the type (C)V-tV would then be expected and could be compared with e.g. *pa-te* for /pantes/. However, the presence of a /sta/ sign may indicate that the scribes operated in terms of a (C)VlstV division with the sequence /stV/ treated as monosyllabic as happens in absolute initial position. Other signs like e.g. *pte* support this assumption since /ptV/ is treated as monosyllabic. It is possible that the creation of a /sta/ sign also indicates that there was a phonetic strengthening of the sibilant again indicated by the double spellings in the alphabetic texts.[109]

Clearly the syllabogram **66* is an extra-systemic sign, which is used only sporadically but can be traced back to the Linear A signary. The Linear A texts

[108] LEJEUNE 1972, §324, 285f.

[109] On these matters see MORPURGO DAVIES 1987, who argues that the Linear B spelling is not determined by actual phonetic syllabification but by the concept/perception of syllables which the Greeks had.

too show that the syllabogram has a preference for final position, but it also occurs (infrequently) in initial position, where it is not attested in Linear B. It is possible that **18* is the *o*-counterpart of **66*. If **18* is $to_2^{??}$ /sto/ (see MELENA 1985, 483 n. 21), the non-occurrence of ta_2 in initial position in Linear B would probably be due to chance.

§17.3.3.6. The remaining untransliterated syllabograms

A full understanding of the structure of the Linear B syllabary depends on the complete decipherment of the 19 syllabograms that remain untransliterated. Some of them are clearly borrowed from Linear A, but others seem to occur only in Linear B. They are officially referred to with their conventional number preceded by an asterisk and they are: **18* (KN), **19* (KN, PY, TH), **22* (KN, TH and continental vases exported from Crete), **34* (= **35*; KN, PY, TH), **47* (KN), **49* (KN), **56* (KH, KN, PY, TH and continental vases exported from Crete), **63* (PY, TH), **64* (KN, PY), **65* (KN, MY, PY, TH), **79* (KN, MY, PY), **82* (KN, MY, PY and continental vases exported from Crete), **83* (KN, PY), **86* (KN, PY), **92* (PY).[110] The present writer has suggested phonetic readings for almost all of them: the two exceptions are **47* and **49* (see the detailed discussion in MELENA forthcoming and above the Table 17.5 and below 17.13). A lot of work will however be needed before the adoption of an official transliteration of these syllabograms. It will then become possible to explain the inner history of the evolution of the script and it will be easier to turn to other questions. The most important of these concern, firstly, the process of the adoption of the syllabary from Linear A, when Mycenaean features were introduced into the inherited model (presumably adopted as a whole), and, secondly, the way in which the Linear B values may be extrapolated back and applied to the Linear A signs, in an attempt to achieve at least a closer reading of those texts.

§17.3.3.7. Additional signs and scribes at Knossos

As shown by the Fig. 17.10, the key scribes 103 (♦) and 117 (♣) are representative of Knossos' graphic usage because of the large number of texts written in these Hands: both the presence and the absence of certain signs in their output are significant. We can refer to them as the 'touchstone' Hands.

[110] It is possible that the sign **89* which occurs only once (KN Z 1715) is not a syllabic sign.

Hands 124 and Hand 141 do not offer an equally comprehensive coverage of signs: thus, the fact that they write a specific sign is significant, but if they do not use a sign this may be due to the size of the deposits.

In the Fig. 17.10, + indicates that the sign in question is attested (see below), while both ⇑ and ↑ indicate the absence of the signs in the texts written by the 'touchstone' scribes. There are two types:

a) ↑: the sign is not known at Knossos:

These signs are: **63* and **91*.

Nota bene: it is possible that a sign exclusively attested at Knossos had a value for which later on another sign was devised in the Mainland. This could be the case of the Mainland sign **63*, possibly created to fill the *ji*[77] gap. The same function may have been once fulfilled by **47*, whose similarity to the shape of *je* may have been a reason why it was jettisoned. New evidence for **63* at Knossos would of course invalidate this argument.

b) Both ⇑ and + indicate that the sign concerned is (or was) known at Knossos, but was not used by Hands 103 and 117, which must have used an alternative way to indicate the values of the relevant signs.

These signs are: **19*, **25*, **47* and **64*.

Further analysis shows that **19*, **25* and **64* were used by the Hands subsumed under 124, but not by Hand 141. By using a chronological criterion, we posit that **19*, **25* and **64* represent remnants of the earliest signary retained on the Mainland but soon abandoned on Crete as unnecessary (only **25* a_2 was retained by a conservative Knossos Hand 114).

	AB *18	( )B *19 ru_2[22]	( )B *25 a_2	AB *34 a_5[22]	AB *47	( )B *48 *nwa	AB *49	( )B *62 *pte	( )B *63 *ji[77]	( )B *64 *wi[79]	AB *65 *jizu[22]	( )B *71 *dwe	AB *79 wo_2[31]	AB *82 *twa[61]	AB *83 *nwa[27]	AB *86 *dwa[21]	AB *87 *twe	AB *90 *dwo	AB *91 *two
103	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—
117	+	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	—
	♣♦	⇑	⇑	♣	↑	♣	♣♦	♠	↑	⇑	♣♦	♦	♣♦	♣♦	♣♦	♣	⇑	♣♦	↑
124	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
141	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
114	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
115	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
118	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
119	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
130	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
132	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
138	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
139	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
222	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
223	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
224	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
225	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Fig. 17.10. Use of some additional signs by the Knossos scribes

§17.3.3.8. Local Scripts in Linear B?

A thorough revision of the evidence for the syllabograms in the different Mycenaean administrative sites leads at once to the question whether there were local scripts, whose peculiarities could impinge on the signs of the additional syllabary. It is true that we have to operate within the limits of our documentation, but, while waiting for an increase in the number of written documents, we may wonder whether we should reckon with at least two local scripts: that of Pylos and that of Knossos.[111]

At Pylos, the signs **33 ra$_3$* (§17.3.3.1.3), **91 two* (§17.3.3.2.2.1) and **92 sja*$^{??}$ (MELENA forthcoming §20) apparently are local innovations without a Linear A ancestor. On the other hand, the signs **18* (MELENA forthcoming §3), **47* (MELENA forthcoming §7), **49* (MELENA forthcoming §8) and **87 twe* (§17.3.3.2.2.1) are found exclusively at Knossos and all of them have certain or possible Linear A models, a fact which favours their interpretation as residual signs rather than local innovations, although they could represent local Knossos additions from the palatial Linear A script to the received Mainland signary. The sign **64 twi*$^{??}$ (MELENA forthcoming §11) may have been part of a tradition which was preserved at Pylos, and reached Knossos (only one instance in the Room of the Chariot Tablets), where, however, it was subsequently abandoned when the bulk of records was written. If so, it could be an argument in favour of a Mainland origin of the Linear B script of Crete.

§17.3.3.9. The new syllabograms of Linear B

As was stated, the differences between Linear A and Linear B are numerous and substantial. Leaving aside the differences in shape, they concern the syllabary itself, though both signaries have approximately the same number of signs.

Here we ignore all speculations on where and when the Linear B script was created, and inevitably this makes more speculative all attempts at identifying the rules which account for the innovated Linear B signs.

Let us first consider the BASIC syllabary. Here are the new Linear B signs arranged according to their graphic orientation:

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[111] Useful tables can be found in PANAYOTOU 1992, but they must be updated.

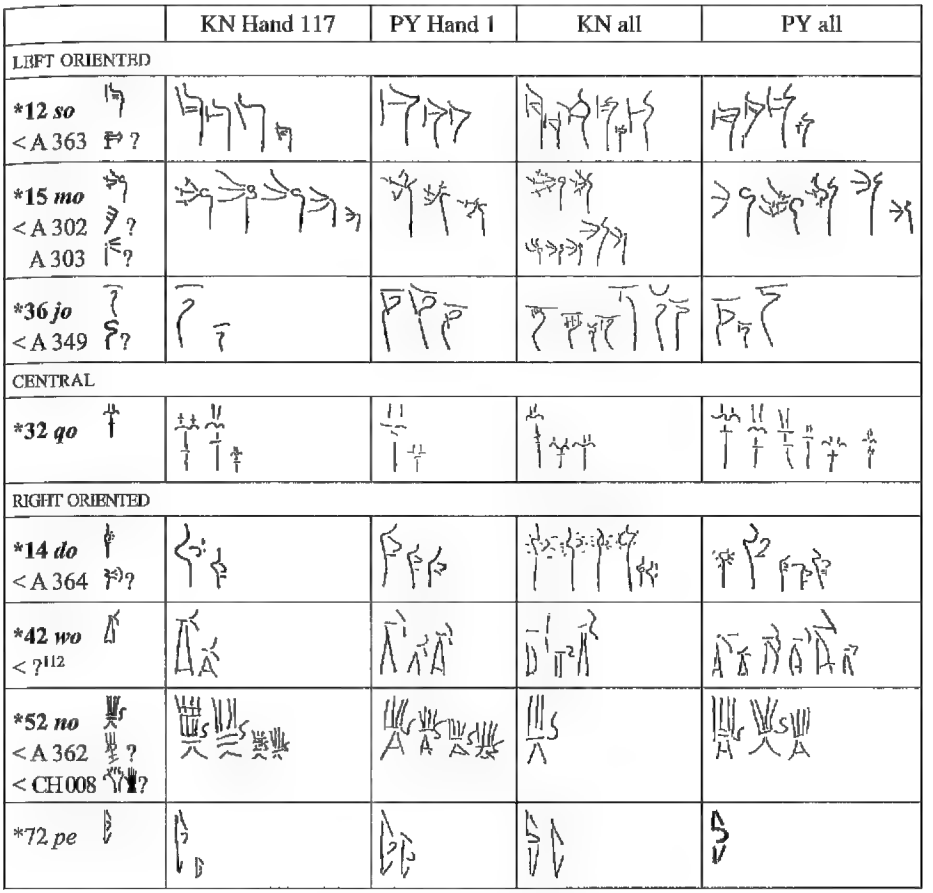

Fig. 17.11. New syllabograms in the Linear B basic syllabary; the *o*-vowel signs are in **boldface**

As shown in the Fig. 17.11, eight signs are allegedly new, although we are suggesting possible Linear A ancestors; most of them represent C+/o/, with the only exception of the syllabogram **72 pe* which remains to be explained. It is just possible that the *pe*-innovation is paralleled by the presence in the ADDITIONAL syllabary of the syllabogram **62 pte*, which is an oddity in the

[112] The new fragment of a Linear B tablet from Iklaina (SHELMERDINE 2012; dated at least early LH IIIA2) bears two instances of syllabogram **42 wo* in a very linear form (𐄁) unknown in the earliest Cretan Linear B records from Knossos, a fact that reinforces the view that the Linear B signary was not created in Crete, but brought there in a more curvilinear form. It is likely that the source for **42* is actually the left half of the metrogram A 118 (𐄆) for the higher unit of weight.

system and for which an explanation was presented *sub signo* (§17.3.3.3.2). It is perhaps not too far fetched to assume that the syllabogram **62* was originally part of the BASIC syllabary with the value /pe/ (perhaps as a continuation of a not yet attested Linear A sign which had Cretan Hieroglyphic [CH] sign *036* as a forerunner). Prior to the borrowing of the Linear B script, the labial stop would have eventually developed a palatal coarticulation before /e/ and the sign was then moved to the ADDITIONAL syllabary standing now for /pʲe/. To fill the slot of /pe/ in the BASIC stock, a new sign was therefore created, the syllabogram **72*, whose tracing (𐀲) recalls a reversed conflation of the two variants for the metrogram of capacity V (𐂁 𐂂).

If we are not wrong, the prevalence of sign innovations for clusters with an *o*-vowel is significant and points to the absence of an internal or final dorsal vowel in the language of the lender. In the list below, which refers to the *o*-signs of Linear B, + indicates that the relevant Linear B sign is not found in Linear A:

labial	–	nasal labial	+
apical voiceless	–	nasal apical	+
apical voiced	+		
dorsal	–	*yod*	+
labiovelar	+	*wau*	+
		sibilant	+

From the perspective of the signary, this could indicate that the language written in Linear A had an asymmetrical system of four vocalic positions, a central one (/ă/), two front ones (/ĭ/ and /ĕ/), and a back one (/ŭ/).[113]

However, we cannot exclude that the alleged Linear B innovations in fact were not innovations, but continuations of existing Linear A signs with slight or no modifications. Thus, A 349, A 302/3, A 363 (reversed), A 364, and A 362 could be the forerunners of Linear B *jo*, *mo*, *so*, *do*, and *no*. The drawings of the sign on the Iklaina tablet would lead to the ascription of Linear B *wo* to the right half of Linear A 118, used only as metrogram in Linear B (**118* = L). The only Linear B sign which seems not to have an Aegean precedent is the syllabogram **32 qo*. In §17.3.5.5.9.2 — *Special weights*, the logogrammatic *QO* is viewed as a schematic version of CROC/**33*.

It ought to be emphasized that any conclusion depends on our limited Linear A dossier and further increases in it might lead to a change in our views.

We may now turn to the allegedly new signs in the ADDITIONAL syllabary, although we are also suggesting possible Linear A ancestors. In the Fig. 17.12, the signs are arranged according to their orientation and are followed by those created by doubling, to which **71 dwe* could be added if the mirroring *we*'s are significant:

[113] However, the existence of inherited signs for *po*, *to* and *ko* now requires explanation.

	KN Hand 117	PY Hand 1	KN all	PY all	HV, MID, MY, TI, TH
CENTRAL					
**19*					TH
**25 a_2*					HV MY TH
**33 rai* < CH 023 ??					
**62 pte* < CH 036 M?					TI
**64 twi*[??] < A 327 ?					
****68 ro$_2$*** < A 304 ↑?					TH
**71 dwe*					TH
****91 two***					
RIGHT ORIENTED					
**83 nwe*[??]					
LEFT ORIENTED					
**43 ai*[114]					MID MY TH
DOUBLED					
**63 $^1/_2$i*[??]					TH
****90 dwo***					MY TH

Fig. 17.12. New syllabograms of the additional Linear B syllabary; the *o*-vowel signs are in **boldface**

[114] The sign was perhaps already attested by the time of Shaft Grave IV ( ) and a Linear A source cannot be ruled out, see PALAIMA 2003. Note that the first evidence of the sign **43* is probably dated LH IIIA2, see IAKOVIDIS – GODART – SACCONI 2012.

Among the twelve signs innovated by Mycenaean scribes, only two were exclusively used at Pylos and do not contribute to the general lessons to be learnt from the writing: the reason for the use of **33 rai* as syllabogram has been already given *sub signo* (§17.3.3.1.3), and the sign *two* seems to have been exclusively used by the subordinate Hand 43 at Pylos in the MN *o-two-we-o* (gen.), in An 261. It could be either an innovation (presumably understood by some scribes who did not use it, e.g., Hands 1 and 41) or rather a conservative oddity marginalized in favour of simpler spellings.

The creation of the syllabogram **90 dwo* makes sense in a Greek language context because it doubles the sign *wo* in a mirroring image, see *sub signo* (§17.3.3.2.1.1). It belongs, however, to the core of the system itself like the remaining nine signs (which are widely attested at KN, PY, TH; their absence at MY or TI is easily explained because of the small number of documents from these sites).

Leaving aside the possibility of explaining **68* ro_2 as an inverted version of A 304, no clear Linear A models can be adduced for the new syllabograms of the Linear B in this section.

§17.3.3.10. General structure of the Syllabary

The Fig. 17.13 gathers the officially transliterated syllabograms together with our transliteration proposals for the untransliterated ones (see MELENA forthcoming). Our hypothetical values have not been officially accepted by one of the Mycenaean Colloquia and are therefore followed with two question marks: **18* = $to_2^{??}$; **19* = $ru_2^{??}$; **22* = $pi_2^{??}$; **34* (= **35*) = $a_5^{??}$ (see MELENA 2013); **56* = $pa_2^{??}$; **63* = $^{j}/_{z}i^{??}$ (see MELENA 2012); **64* = $twi^{??}$; **65* = $^{j}/_{z}u^{??}$ (see MELENA 2012); **79* = $wo_2^{??}$ (see MELENA 1978); **82* = $twa^{??}$; **83* = $nwe^{??}$; **86* = $dwa^{??}$; **92* = $sa_2^{??}$.

Ø	*a*	*e*	*i*	*o*	*u*	a_3	a_4	*??*
d	*da*	*de*	*di*	*do*	*du*			
dw	$dwa^{??}$	*dwe*		*dwo*				
h	a_2							
j	*ja*	*je*	$^{j}/_{z}i^{??}$	*jo*	$^{j}/_{z}u^{??}$			
k	*ka*	*ke*	*ki*	*ko*	*ku*			
m	*ma*	*me*	*mi*	*mo*	*mu*			
n	*na*	*ne*	*ni*	*no*	*nu*			
nw	*nwa*	$nwe^{??}$						
p	*pa*	*pe*	*pi*	*po*	*pu*			

Ø	*a*	*e*	*i*	*o*	*u*	a_3	a_4	??
p_2	$pa_2^{??}$		$pi_2^{??}$		pu_2			
pt		*pte*						
q	*qa*	*qe*	*qi*	*qo*				
r	*ra*	*re*	*ri*	*ro*	*ru*	ra_3		
r_2	ra_2			ro_2	$ru_2^{??}$			
s	*sa*	*se*	*si*	*so*	*su*			
$s_2^{??}$	$sa_2^{??}$							
$st^{??}$	$sta^{??}$			$sto^{??}$				
t	*ta*	*te*	*ti*	*to*	*tu*			
tw	$twa^{??}$	*twe*	$twi^{??}$	*two*				
w	*wa*	*we*	*wi*	*wo*				
$w_2^{??}$				$wo_2^{??}$				
z	*za*	*ze*	$j/_z i^{??}$	*zo*	$j/_z u^{??}$			
?						$a_5^{??}$		
??								*47, *49

Fig. 17.13. Synopsis of the structure of the Linear B signary (structural gaps shaded)

The labialized signs are listed in the rows for *dw*, *nw*, *q* (labiovelars) and *tw*. The yodized ones appear in the rows for *pt*, r_2, $s_2^{??}$, $w_2^{??}$ and the *z*-signs of the basic syllabary (these last ones spell the outcomes of voiced apicals, dorsals and labiovelars followed by *yod*). In our view next to the standard labial series *p* there was a prenasalized series p_2 for /$^{m}b^{(h)}$/ represented by the signs **56* = $pa_2^{??}$; **22* = $pi_2^{??}$; **29* = pu_2. It is also possible that **66* = ta_2 and **18* = $to_2^{??}$ represent a /st/ series ($st^{??}$).

Blanks imply that no sign was present in the structure of the Mycenaean Linear B Syllabary. 10 slots have been shadowed to indicate that they are structural gaps due to various causes.

§17.3.4. *The syllabary: writing conventions*

§17.3.4.1. The Mycenaean order of the syllabary

Learning to write in the Linear B syllabary would have been a long and hard task, particularly in its early stages. Once it was understood that the spoken

language could be recorded on a writing surface, it was necessary to master a substantial number of syllabic signs, possibly using some method to aid memorization. It might be possible to recover a MNEMOTECHNIC ORDER of the Mycenaean syllabary elements, a device that can be compared to the *iroha* order of the *kana* Japanese script, in which all the syllables, one after the other, produce words and these words form an entire poem. However, a Mycenaean *iroha* is not known, for no school tablets are preserved.[115] This in itself is surprising since the uniformity of the writing practices within the administrative centres should imply that Mycenaean writers/scribes needed a lengthy period of disciplined schooling. They would have had to learn not only the syllabary and the stock of logograms, but also a number of orthography rules as well as the bureaucratic routines for making administrative documents. It would be interesting to ask how much time would be needed for an illiterate Mycenaean to master the script but this is a difficult question to answer. Perhaps Japanese writing offers a suitable parallel: to master it, every schoolchild must learn the 94 signs that together comprise the two syllabaries *hiragana* and *katakana* and learn the orthographic rules for using the *kana*. He or she must learn to cope with the Chinese *kanji*, of which 881 basic signs are acquired at the school (which takes six years).[116] The repertory of Mycenaean logograms is far smaller in number than *kanji*, but a comparison might lead one to estimate that a couple of years learning would have been required to master the Linear B script. Therefore, it might be possible to track down some of the consequences of this 'scholastic' training such as the unprompted writing of mnemonic sequences (*iroha*'s) on discarded slips, margins, etc. during leisure time. If this was a widespread practice, the occasional presence of careless writings should not be surprising. This may well be the case of the text inscribed on the back of PY Aq 218.*v*., which has no relationship to the document recorded on the diptych 64+218. This writing reads as follows:

di-we-si-po-ro-ti-mi-to-qo

in which no syllabogram is repeated. In spite of many attempts, this sequence defies interpretation[117] and, curiously enough, it appears also on the *verso* of another fragmentary tablet from Pylos (Xa 412), as read by Bennett:[118]

di-we-[*si*]*-po-ro-ti-mi-to-qo*.

[115] KN V(1) 114 (Hand 124) could be the exception, cf. DUHOUX 2011, 96-101.
[116] Cf. COULMAS 1988, 194.
[117] DUHOUX 2011, 109-113.
[118] BENNETT 1996-1997, 140ff.; on Tn 316 cf. also DEL FREO 1996-1997, 157f.

The tablet is a rather strange specimen showing the *recto* surface divided into five compartments by vertical bars; it is likely that it represented a training exercise, with the Mycenaean *iroha* written on its back. This training ambiance appears also in the loose checks of the sharpness of the stylus on PY Tn 316.

Nevertheless, to date, the textual sequences in the documents do not seem to reflect an 'alphabetic' arrangement, or at least a disposition based on the order of such a Mycenaean *iroha*, which is attested only at Pylos.

§17.3.4.2. The Mycenaean spelling rules. A detailed account

§17.3.4.2.1. *Origins of the Mycenaean spelling rules*

We have seen that the Mycenaean Linear B script is 'unsuitable' for the notation of all the Greek phonological oppositions of voice and vocalic length. Furthermore, we should note the difficulty of using it to write the Greek language (especially in Mycenaean times, with its very high frequency of closed syllables ([consonant+]vowel+consonant) and consonantal groups in absolute initial and final positions. Thus once they had learnt the syllabary, it would not be surprising if Mycenaean writers had to learn a SET OF ORTHOGRAPHIC RULES. In fact, the high regularity of the Linear B spellings in the texts proves that such rules did exist.[119] These rules were similar to those eventually used to write the Cypriot Greek dialect with the Cypriot Classical syllabary in the following millennium (although at that stage the structure and use of the script had been adapted and had become more 'suitable').

It is true that under similar conditions cultures at the same level of development often arrive at similar solutions. However, we cannot forget that there are genetic links between Syllabic Cypriot and Linear B which could account for this similarity. Yet, it is necessary to emphasize that there was no direct continuity between Linear B and the Cypriot Classical syllabary and that the node from which both independently, but not exclusively, derive could be identified with Minoan Linear A. It cannot be excluded *a priori* that the similarity between the Mycenaean and Cypriot set of rules does not merely reflect the fact that both languages are Greek dialects; it is possible that the main rules for both syllabaries were inherited with the script from Linear A. From this point of view the adoption of Linear B would not be too different from other adoption processes of a system of writing in which not only the signs themselves are

[119] However, note that the characteristics of the Mycenaean writing do not allow a full understanding of the exact form of many words. On Mycenaean orthographic teaching and similarity of scribal practices, cf. DUHOUX 1986.

borrowed, but also the direction of writing and various other sets of writing rules.

This consideration would imply that, in analysing the Linear B orthographic strategies, the focus cannot be primarily concentrated on the linguistic nature of the Greek phonemes.[120] This is because the first Mycenaean writers may have followed the routines learnt from their Linear A teachers. They observed them in the same way in which they preserved the basic form of the syllabograms, in spite of the innovations that centuries of writing may have prompted both in the number of signs and in supplementary rules. It is self evident that in a syllabic writing system, the writing routines were based on the syllable: thus, if Linear A was a language with a predominance of open syllables ([consonant(s)+]vowel), the Linear B tendency not to write most phonemes found in the syllabic coda may be seen as a way to preserve this feature.

§17.3.4.2.2. *The writing of diphthongs*

§17.3.4.2.2.1. *i*-diphthongs

As a rule, *i*-diphthongs are not written; in this respect, /y/ in coda position is graphically treated in the same way as the liquid and nasal resonants:

	INTERNAL	BEFORE #
/ay/	*e-ra-wo* /elaiwon/ 'oil'	*ko-wa* /korwai/ 'girls'
/ey/	*re-qo-me-no* /leik^{w}omenoi/ 'remaining ones'	*a-re-pa-te* /aleip^{h}atei/ 'unguent' (dat.)
/oy/	*po-me* /poimēn/ 'shepherd'	*ko-wo* /korwoi/ 'boys'
/uy/	*u-jo* /hui^{j}os/ 'son'	—

However, *i*-diphthongs may be exceptionally written in full. This is a matter of local or individual variation, and has to be considered taking into account the nature of the preceding vowels.

[120] WOODARD 1997 reviewed thoroughly the different interpretations of the structure of the Linear B syllabary and its orthographic rules distinguishing the 'Syllable-Dependent Approaches' (by Householder, Beekes, Sampson, Ruijgh and Morpurgo Davies; see pp. 19-57) from the 'Non-Syllable-Dependent Approaches' (by Tronsky, Stephens and Justeson, Viredaz and Woodard himself; see pp. 58-111). References can readily be found there. The proposed 'Hierarchy of Orthographic Strength' is not endorsed here. CONSANI 2003 represents a more recent attempt at this kind of analysis, cf. also CONSANI 2008.

§17.3.4.2.2.1.1. *i*-diphthongs with an *a*-vowel

It should be emphasized that the full writing of an *i*-diphthong with an /a/ vowel seems to affect some examples of specialized terms of chariot and textile manufacture at Knossos:

a-na-i-ta is written in KN Sf(2) 4419 (undoubtedly an afterthought correction since *-i-* is written over erased *-ta*) (Hand 129?), and 7451, whereas *a-na-ta* appears in KN Sf(2) 4420.b in the same Hand, and *a-na-to* occurs more frequently in KN Sf(1) 4423 (Hand 128?), Sf(2) 4425 (Hand 129?), Sg 888 and 7939. The word is a privative verbal adjective used to indicate the absence of certain constitutive elements or decorations of chariot frames, while the opposite situation is clearly represented by the perfect participle *a-ja-me-no* /ai̯aimenŏ/. A possible verbal root could be **h*$_2$*ey-* 'give, take, seize' *LIV* 229, cf. ἄνυμαι, ἕξαιτος, and no intervocalic aspiration is possible anyway.[121] Thus we have here two examples of *i*-diphthong with /i/ written but five with /i/ omitted, all of them at Knossos, with two or three scribes involved. One of these scribes, Hand 128, wrote also *ke-ra-ja-pi* KN Sd 4401.a+ ten times, but once *ke-ra-i-ja-pi* in a tablet now lost KN Sd <4450>.a (the reading is guaranteed by the existence of a photograph); *ke-ra-ja-pi* written ten times must stand for the correct spelling and the unique *ke-ra-i-ja-pi* merely represents another attempt to write the diphthongal glide by one and the same scribe (and does not point to an intervocalic aspiration /kerahi̯ăpʰi/). It is possible to follow NUSSBAUM 1986, 39-47 and derive the adjective not from a neuter *s*-stem like /keras/ but from a feminine noun **kerā* 'horn (as a material)', perhaps attested in KN Ra 984.2+ (Hand 127) instr. sing., with the standard *-ios/-iā* suffix which in Mycenaean and Aeolic is used to form adjectives of material.[122]

On the other hand, another scribe (Hand 103) wrote *nu-wa-i-ja* KN L(2) 5910.1 (cf. also KN L[7] 592, Hand 211) and *nu-wa-ja* KN L(2) 647.A.B (also in Hand 103), a textile description of obscure interpretation; it could be a further instance of the above phenomenon of personal variation.

A MN *e-re-pa-ro* KN Ce 144.1 (Hand 124-B) may also be fully written *e-re-pa-i-ro* KN Vc(1) 212 (Hand 124-S) in records of the earliest phase at Knossos.

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[121] The verbal root **seh*$_2$*i-* posited by GARCÍA RAMÓN 1997, implies the existence of psilosis in the word family, a fact that is very unlikely either at Pylos or at Knossos in documents where along with *a-ja-me-no* we find spellings like *o-pi-i-ja-pi* /opi-hi̯ăpʰi/. Inlaid decorations can be seen as 'given or assembled' as well as 'bound or attached', and the Hittite parallels for PIE **seh*$_2$*i-* are used rather for 'contractual bonds'.

[122] See also HAJNAL 1994, 80.

The following personal names from Knossos could represent a full writing of true diphthongs, but some or all of them may involve an intervocalic aspiration:

a-pa-i-ti-jo	L 588.1.
e-na-i-jo[	Xd <302> (Hand 124?).
ka-da-i-so	De 5018.B (Hand 117); for **ka-da-so* cf. *ka-da-si-jo* PY An 519.2 (Hand 1).
ka-da-i-to	Uf 5726.2.
]*ka-ra-i-no*	B(5) 5028.1 (Hand 104).
qa-i-po	Dg 1101.B (Hand 117).
qa-ra-i-so	Dv 5285 (Hand 117), V(3) 466.1 (Hand 115), for **qa-ra-so* cf. *qa-ra-si-jo* MY Au 657.6+ (Hand 62).
sa-i-[	F(1) 5079.4a (Hand 124-D).
tu-ma-i-ta	As(1) 605.3 (Hand 103), cf. a_3-*ta*.

The well-known Cretan PN *ku-ta-to*[123] also appears sporadically with the spelling *ku-ta-i-to* KN C 902.10 (Hand 201), Xd 146.2 (Hand 124); assibilated derivative *ku-ta-i-si-jo*[KN X 7891. No internal aspiration seems to be involved and the *i*-writing could be by analogy with *pa-i-to* KN *passim* (Hands 103, 115, 117, 119, 128, 130, 136, 210 and 217), adjectives *pa-i-ti-ja* KN *passim* (Hands 102, 103, 117?, 124 and 221), *pa-i-ti-jo* KN Od(1) 681.a (Hand 103). In Linear A this PN may also occur as *pa*$^{?}$-*i*$^{?}$-*ṭọ*$^{?}$ in HT 97.a.3[1]+: a glottal stop could intervene as in the case of *se-to-i-ja* KN *passim*; ethnic *ṣẹ-to-i-jẹ*[-*we*? nom. plur. KN V <1631>.1; *ṣẹ-to-i-jọ*[KN X 9327; in Linear A also *se*$^{?}$-*ṭọ*$^{?}$-*i*$^{?}$-*ja*$^{?}$ in PR Za 1b[4].

An analysis of the remaining instances of the sequence *...a-i-* in the Mycenaean texts shows that the spelling often involves an intervocalic aspiration and not the writing of the *i*-element of a diphthong:

So in compounds with *da-i*° as first member, which probably included different words: /dāhi/ 'in battle' at least in *da-i-qo-ta* KN Da 1164.B (Hand 117), but without internal aspiration /dai/ (< PIE **deh*$_2$*y*- 'cut, divide' *LIV* 103) in *da-i-ja-ke-re-u* PY Aq 218.3 (Hand 21) and MN *da-i-wo-wo* KN V(5) 1043.A (Hand 125), the same root appearing as a second member in MN *e-u-da-i-ta* KN Dl 47.1. The following MNs may belong to either root: *da-i-ḳọ*[TH Ug 15 (Hand 301); *da-i-mi-so* KN Do 996.B (Hand 106); *da-i-pi-ta* KN B(5) 799.1 (Hand 104), cf. *da-i-pi*[KN Xd 8128 (Hand 124-S); *da-i-ra* KN Od 7388 *lat. inf.*, V(3) 479.3 (Hand 115); *da-i-ta-ra-ro* KN De 1231.B (Hand 117); and *da-i-ze-to* KN Da 1317 (Hand 117). Note that a similar sequence in the Pre-Greek MN Δαίδαλος is not written with an *i*-sign in the derivative *da-da-re-jo-de* KN Fp(1) 1.3 (Hand 138).

[123] Da 1114.B+ (46 times in Hand 117), Dk(2) 1064.B (14 times in Hand 119), KN Ce 59.2b+ (3 times in Hands 124), twice in Hands 132 (Mc 4455.B+) and 223 (Ga[3] 454+), once Dl(1) 463.B (Hand 118?) and Dq(3) 442.b (Hand 217); adjective *ku-ta-ti-jo* KN As(2) 1516.12+ *ku-ta-ti-ja-* KN G 820.3; assibilated *ku-ta-si-jo* KN Da 1394.B+ (Hand 117).

The same is true for the compounds of the word for 'stone' /lāhas/: thus °/lāhi^{j}-/ in °/aigōnlāhi^{j}-/ or °/aigoslāhi^{j}-/: PNs *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo* PY On 300.8 (Stylus 300 of Class i); *pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja* PY Pa 398.a (Stylus 49 of Class iii); *pe-ra$_2$-ko-ra-i-ja* PY Ng 332.1 (Hand 1), Wa 114.2 (Hand 1); *de-we-ro-a$_3$-ko-ra-i-ja* PY Ng 319.1 (Hand 1), or in /opi-lāhi^{j}-/ PN *o-pi-ra-i-ja* PY Cn 1286.1 (Class ii) (]*-ra-i-ja* KN Xf 5573.1 and]*ra-i-jo* PY Vn 851.14 in Hand 12 could belong here), and even PN *ra-i-pi* PY Cn 595.6, Na 530 (Hand 1), if /Lāhipp^{h}i/. The ethnic description *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* PY An 614.4+ (ten times) (Hand 1) could also be analysed with a second member */-lāhi^{j}-/.

Derivatives of the name of Poseidon may also show intervocalic aspiration: °/dahi-^{j}on/ °/dahi^{j}ēus/ in *po-si-da-i-je-u-si* PY Fn 187.18 (Hand 2); *po-si-da-i-jo* PY Tn 316.*v*.1 (Hand 44); *po-si-da-i-jo-de* PY Fn 187.2 (Hand 2).

An internal aspiration is possible in:

na-i-se-wi-jo	PY Jn 692.1+ (Hand 2), Mn 1408.3 (Stylus 1398 of Class ii), PN built on **na-i-se-u*, without clear interpretation, /Nāhisēus/?
]*ra-i-ka*	PY Ea 208 (Hand 43), MN, obscure.
ta-i-da	TH Ug 13 (Hand 301), MN, obscure.

An internal aspiration is posited in MNs which are derivatives in *-i-jo*:

a-ka-i-jo	KN De 1084.a (Hand 117), Dv 1085.a (Hand 117), F(1) 153*v*.5 (Hand 124), Vc(1) 68 (Hand 124-s), Vd 62 (Hand 124-s); PY An 435.15 (Hand 1); derivative *a-ka-i-je-ja* TH Of 27.2.3 (Hand 303).
a-ra-i-jo	PY An 261.8 (Hand 43).
i-da-i-jo	KN K(1) 875.4 (Hand 102); PY An 661.2 (Hand 1); TH Of 28.2 (Hand 303).

After the above analysis, it is clear that the writing with *-i-* of an internal /ai/ diphthongs is restricted to a personal variation among the scribes of Knossos. Initial /ai/ diphthongs are universally marked as such in Linear B mainly by means of an innovated sign a_3[124], *a-i*-sequences represent an internal aspiration as in *a-i-qe-u* PY Eb 895.A (Hand 41), Ep 301.14 (Hand 1); dat. *a-i-qe-we* PY Eo 471.2 (Hand 41); *a-i-qe-wo* PY En 659.12 (Hand 1), Eo 471.1 (Hand 41) /Ahi/° < *$h_x$ns-i-* 'sword', cf. Lat. *ēnsis*, Skt. *así-*. It is probable that the inherited **34* a_5?? syllabogram also reflects an initial /ai/ diphthong marked by an initial glottal attack (see my comments to DUHOUX 1983, 124f., and MELENA 2013).

At Pylos internal and final *ai*-diphthongs could sometimes be fully written after a liquid by means of the sign ra_3, as seen in §17.3.3.1.3.

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[124] Since a_3 is a marked sign, it could alternate with the unmarked *a* when an initial /ai/ diphthong became internal in compounds: thus at Pylos *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo* On 300.8 vs *de-we-ro-a$_3$-ko-ra-i-ja* Ng 319.1.

§17.3.4.2.2.1.2. *i*-diphthongs with an *e*-vowel

At Knossos, the *i*-diphthong with an *e*-vowel is sometimes written with the *i*-sign.[125]

When derivatives in *-i-jo* are written with an C*e-i-* this seems to point to an intervocalic aspiration.[126]

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[125] Some words can be dismissed from the start: *ka-ra-e-i-jo* KN Fp(2) 354.1 (Hand 222?) is probably a mistake for the month-name *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* KN Fp(1) 6.1+ (Hand 138); *po-ti-ni-ja-we-i-jo* occurs only once in KN Dp 7742.2 vs *po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja* KN Dp 997.a (Hand 118), G 820.3; *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* KN Dl(1) 930.A+ (Hand 118), G 760.b; PY Eb 364.1 (Hand 41), Ep 613.14, Eq 36.1 (Hand 1), Jn 310.14+ (Hand 2), Un 249.1a (Class ii); gen. *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-jo* PY Eq 213.5 (Hand 1): /Potni^{j}awei^{j}os/, with a suffix /-wei^{j}os/ added to /Potnia/, 'lady'. An obscure MN]*e-i-ja-si* is attested on KN B(5) 804.3 (Hand 104), /Ehi^{j}asis/? may be from non-Greek stock. In *we-i-we-sa* MY Fo 101.3 (Hand 53) the suffix °/-wessa/ < *-*wn̥t-yh*$_2$ is clear but *we-i*° is not. On the other hand, *pe-re-i-to* PY Wp 1327.β (Class i) is a description of pigs /plēistoi/? 'the biggest'. If so, the writing with *-i-* could be prompted by an attempt to mark the morphological boundary (or to keep the original disyllabic character of /plēi-/ < **pléh*$_1$*-is-to-s*). *a-pe-i-si* KN Od 666.b (Hand 115), if /ap-eisi/ 'will come off', *Interpretation*, 240, should have been written **a-pe-si*, but since /ap-ehisi/ is unlikely, it could be ultimately interpreted as an example of full writing as well.

[126]]*a-ko-we-i-ja* KN L 1649*v*. /akōwehi^{j}a/ 'without fleece' is far from certain. *a-pe-i-ja* PY Ub 1318.6 (Hand 32) /Alp^{h}ei^{j}ā/ or /Alp^{h}es-i^{j}ā/ > /Alp^{h}ehi^{j}ā/. *a-pe-ke-i-jo* PY Jn 431.1 (Hand 2) cf. dat.-loc. *a-pe-ke-e* in line .16 which guarantees an intervocalic aspiration, possibly to be read as /Amp^{h}enk^{h}ehi^{j}os/ < */Amp^{h}enk^{h}es-i^{j}os/. *a-re-i-jo* KN Le 641.1 (Hand 103); PY An 656.6 (Hand 1), MN /Arĕh-i^{j}os/ could represent a variant of *a-re-ja* PY Tn 316*v*.7 (Hand 44), epithet of Hermes, /Arei^{j}ās/ < /Ares-yās/; and]*a-re-jo* KN Vc(1) 208 (Hand 124-s) MN /Arei^{j}ōn/ < /Ares-yōn/. *a-re-i-ze-we-i* TH Of 37.1 (Hand 303) MN dat. /Arēhi-skewehi/. *a-te-i-ja-ta* KN Dd 1468 (Hand 117), Dk(2) 1064.B (Hand 119) /Ant^{h}ēi^{j}ātās/, MN from an ethnic adjective built on a place-name /Ant^{h}ēi^{j}a/. *au-ke-i-ja-te-we* PY An 1281.4+ (Hand 12), Ub 1318.1+ (Hand 32); gen. *au*[*-ke-i-*]*ja-te-wo* PY Fn 50.11 (Stylus 324 of Class iii) /Augēi^{j}ātēus/, MN from the ethnic /Augēi^{j}ātās/, PN /Augēi^{j}a/; in the ethnic *e-ra-te-i-jo* PY On 300.5 (Stylus 300 of Class ii), cf.]*te-i-jo* Ea 421 (Hand 43) and loc. PN *e-ra-te-i* PY Cn 608.9 (Hand 1), an *s*-stem is guaranteed by the PN, whose all. *e-ra-to-de* PY Vn 20.9 /Elatos-de/ points to a neuter *-o/es-* cf. ἐλάτη. *ke-i-ja* PY Qa 1303 (Hand 15) MN /Skēhi^{j}ās/; *ke-i-jo* PY Na 577 (Hand 1) /Skēhi^{j}ōn/, perhaps not related to the loc. PN *ke-e* PY Aa 93 /Kēhei/ (cf. the metathesized Κέως), but rather with the first member of the juxtaposition (?) *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na* PY Nn 228.3 (Hand 1), a likely variant spelling *ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na* PY Na 70 (Hand 1) /Skēhi^{j}ās-krannā/, perhaps 'Fountain of the Butterfly', cf. σκῆν, or /Skēhi^{j}ā-krannā/ (or 'Hole-spring', see § 17.3.2.2). *te-i-ja* KN Xe 7437.2 (Hand 103) anthroponym /T^{h}ehi^{j}ās/ (cf. *te-i-ja-'ta*'); also epithet of Mother, dat. /T^{h}ehi^{j}āi/ 'of the gods' (< **d^{h}es-*) PY Fr 1202 (Hand 2). *te-u-ke-i-jo* TH Av 106.4 (Hand 304), cf.]*ḳe-i-jo* TH Op 108.3 MN /T^{h}euk^{h}ehi^{j}os/ < */T^{h}euk^{h}es-iyos/. *we-ke-i-ja* KN Am(2) 819.A, perhaps a description of a team of 18 men: /wergehi^{j}ā/ < */werges-iyā/; *we-ke-i-jo* PY Jn 937.2 (Hand 2), MN /Wergehi^{j}os/ < */Werges-iyos/ or /Wek^{h}ehi^{j}os/ < */Wek^{h}es-iyos/. *wa-ke-i-jo* KN Vc(1) 177 (Hand 124-s), MN /Wagehi^{j}os/ < */Wages-iyos/, cf. (*F*)άγος or MN /Wāk^{h}ehi^{j}os/ < */Wāk^{h}es-iyos/, cf. Arcadian Ϝᾶχος. *me-de-i-jo* KN B(5) 800.4 (Hand 104) /Mēdehi^{j}os/ < */Mēdes-iyos/, cf. μῆδος. *e-ke-i-ja* PY Va 1324.1 (Class ii) /enk^{h}es-i^{j}ai/ < */enk^{h}es-iyai/ 'spears' vs *e-ke-ja* PY Vn 1339.1 (Class iii) /enk^{h}ei^{j}ai/ < */enk^{h}es-yai/. *e-ke-i-ja-ta* PY Jn 750.10 (Hand 2) MN /Enk^{h}ēs-i^{j}ātās/. *e-ke-i-jo-jo* PY Sa 760 (Hand 26) MN in the gen. /Enk^{h}es-i^{j}oi^{j}o/. *e-pe-i-ja-o* TH Ug 41+ (Hand 301), MN in the gen. /(H)erp$^{(h)}$es-i^{j}āho/. **56-ko-we-i-ja-qe* KN G 820.2; **56-ko-we-i-jo* KN Ga(2) 424.b

§17.3.4.2.2.1.3. *i*-diphthongs with an *o*-vowel

The writing with an *i*-sign of the diphthongs with an /o/ vowel occurs at Knossos as in the following examples:

ko-to-i-na KN Uf(3) 981.a+ (three times in Hand 123) /ktoinā/ 'plot of land' against regular *ko-to-na* PY *passim*; *ko-to-na-no-no* PY Ea 922 (for *ko-to-na <a->no-no*) (Hand 43); *ko-to-na-o* PY *passim*; *ko-to-ne-we* PY Ae 995; *ko-to-no* PY Eb 338.B, Eo 278 (Hand 41), dual; *ko-to-no-o-ko* PY *passim*; *ko-to-no-o-ko-de* PY Eb 297.2 (Hand 41).

wo-i-ko-de KN As(2) 1519.11 (Hand 101) in contrast with the plain *wo-ko-de* TH Of 36.2 (Hand 303) and perhaps at Knossos also the regular]*ẇọ-ko-dẹ* KN Gg 7792.a; the dat.-loc. *wo-ke* /woikei/ appears both at Knossos (L 698.3, Hand 103) and at Pylos (Sh 736, Stylus 733 of Class ii). Cf. also the MN]*ru-wo-i-ko* KN Db 2020.B (Hand 117) if /(Eu)ru-woikos/.

Men's names lack contextual support and any interpretation can only be inferred from the etymology, but the Knossos evidence is as follows:

a-ko-i-da	Dl(1) 943.B (Hand 118).
pi-ro-i-ta	V(7) 1523.5b (Hand 101) /P^{h}il-oitās/, if < **h*$_2$*oyt-*, therefore full writing of a diphthong, cf. Ἐχοίτης *LGPN* II, *s.v.*
po-i-te-u	Da 1083.B (Hand 117) and *po-i-ti-jo* Da 1314.b (same Hand) could represent full writings of a MN which appears regularly elsewhere as *po-te-u* PY An 519.7 (Hand 1), Cn 45.13 (Hand 21); TH Ug 41 (Hand 301); dat. *po-te-we* TH Av 100.2 (Hand 304); gen. *po-te-wo* PY En 467.3 (Hand 1), Eo 268 (Hand 41).
]*qo-i-ṇa*	X 7735.2, may be from either /k^{w}oi-nā/, *o*-grade from **k*^{w}*ey-* or /k^{wh}ōi-nā/, 'banquet'; if so, a clear diphthong.

The alternation °*qo-i-ta* vs °*qo-ta* may point to two different second members: *a-pi-qo-ta* KN C(2) 915.B+ (Hand 112), MN in dat.; PY Jn 431.6 (Hand 2); TH Oq 434.11 (the editors classified it as Uq); gen. *a-pi-qo-ta-o* PY An 261.13+ (Hand 43), *v*.5 (Hand 1), Un 616*v*.2 (Hand 1); °/g^{w}otās/ < °/g^{w}m̥tās/ 'walker' cf. -βάτης *a-pi-qo-to* PY Ta 642.3+ (Hand 2), table description °/g^{w}otos/ or even °/k^{wh}oitos/ (see §17.3.2.1.1 *sub* **g*^{w}*eh*$_2$-) whereas *a-pi-qo-i-ta* KN Ai(3) 824.1 could represent °/k^{wh}oitās/ cf. -φοίτης, again at Knossos.

(Hand 136); adjectives from the PN **56-ko-we* KN *passim*; the dat.-loc. of the PN **56-ko-we-e* KN Dl(1) 794.B+ (Hand 118), **56-ko-we-i* KN Dm 5181+ (Hand 117) point to an *s*-stem and to *-ehi-* sequences.

Besides Knossos, at Mycenae one and the same scribe (Hand 57) wrote once *ko-i-no* with the diphthongal element on Ge 606.7 for /sk^{h}oinos/ 'rush' whereas he used (although erased) the regular spelling *ko-no* on Ge 602.1 as did Hand 58^{a} on Ge 603.2+ and 604.2; *ko-no-a-po-te-ṛạ* MY Ge 602.5B (Hand 57) 'rush-of-both-types'; cf. KN Ga 953 (Hand 219); the Pylos PN *ko-no* could represent the same word on Eq 213.6 (Hand 1). This unique example at Mycenae could be paralleled by the obscure MN *mo-i-da* MY Au 102.8 (Hand 52), 657.3 (Hand 62) in contrast with the canonical *mo-da* at Pylos on Jn 601.5 (Hand 2).

We may mention the possible alternation between *ko-ro* KN De 1152.B (Hand 117); PY Cn 131.11 (Hand 1), Eq 146.2 (Hand 1); TH Ft(1) 220.1+ (Hand 311) /K^{h}oiros/ Χοῖρος *LGPN* I, 486; II, 479, or MN /K^{h}oirōn/ Χοίρων *LGPN* III.A, 486 (other interpretations are not excluded), and *ko-i-ṛọ* written on PY Eb 862.A (Hand 41), but Knossos' preference for *i*-spellings in contrast with Pylos gives us pause and we may wonder whether at Pylos a reading *ko-i-ḍạ* is excluded.

ro-i-ko PY Va 482 (Hand 42) is a description of ivory followed by a probable number two; it could be a dual. There is no accepted interpretation and we may think of an internal aspiration.

An internal aspiration is posited for two derivatives in *-i-jo*: *a-wo-i-jo* KN Dv 1462.B (Hand 117); PY Cn 599.5 (Hand 21) /Awwōhi^{i}os/ and *wi-do-wo-i-jo* PY Ae 344 (Hand 22), An 5.2 (Class ii); *wi-du-wo-i-jo* PY Jn 415.3 (Hand 2); *wi-dwo-i-jo* PY Ep 539.12 (Hand 1); TH Oq 434.13 /Widwohi^{i}os/.

The fragments]*so-i-*[KN X 8156.1 and]*ṣọ-i-ne* MY X 707.2a cannot be used.

It is now clear that the second element of *i*-diphthongs normally is not indicated in writing with the exception of Knossos, where some scribes sporadically write it as the result of personal choice.[127] A similar exceptional usage is also attested at Mycenae.

§17.3.4.2.2.2. *u*-diphthongs

Contrary to the Mycenaean practice of not writing the *i*-element of *i*-diphthongs, *u*-diphthongs are as a rule spelled out:

/au/	*na-u-do-mo*	/naudomoi/ 'ship-builders'
/eu/	*e-u-me-de*	/Eumēdēs/[128]
/ou/	*a-ro-u-ra*	/arourāns/ 'ploughlands'

[127] A comprehensive view of the flexible practice of Mycenaean scribes can be found in DUHOUX 2007.

[128] The question whether *e-u-* stands for a true diphthong /eu°/ or a disyllabic 'apparent diphthong' /ehu°/, from **h$_1$esu-*, will be not discussed here.

The graphic omission of the second element occurs but is very rare:

qo-qo-ta-o PY Ea 270+ four times (Hand 43) vs *qo-u-qo-ta* 'cow-feeder' KN L(4) 480.b (Hand 208) seems to reveal a systematic omission of the second element of the diphthong in /g^{w}ou°/, the first member of the compound in this word (contrast *qo-u-ko-ro* PY An 18.9 [Hand 11], 830+ four times [Hand 1], 852.1 [Hand 3], Nn 831.5 [Hand 1]; TI Ef 2 and above all *qo-u-ko-ro-jo* gen. on PY Ea 781 in the same Hand 43 as *qo-qo-ta-o* and in the same set of Ea records). Rather than with a graphic omission of /u/, we are dealing with a morphological or phonetic variant due to the personal choice of the Pylos Hand 43.

A title /k^{h}euspondās/ or the like (first member morphologically obscure, but cf. σπονδοχόη, σπόνδικες· οἱ τὰς σπονδὰς χέοντες Hsch.) *ke-u-po-da* (PY Na 395.B+ twice [Hand 1, which also abbreviated the word as *ke*, i.e. *ke*<*-u-po-da*> in 865.a+ three times]; gen. *ke-u-po-da-o* KN C 1044.b and Dq[3] 442.a [Hand 217]; derivative *ke-u-po-de-ja* KN G 820.3) is once written *ke-po-da* in PY Na 568.A (Hand 1), which is clearly an accidental error for *ke-*<*u->po-da* and it is to be excluded from consideration here.

**we-da-ne-u* MN (*we-da-ne-we* dat. PY Es 646.3+ 4 times [Hand 1] and *we-da-ne-wo* gen. PY An 610.14 [Hand 1], Cn 40.4+ 21 times [Hands 1, 21], Es 644.6+ 9 times [Hand 1], Na 856+ twice [Hand 1] and Un 1193.3 [Class i]) appears once written as *we-u-da-ne-we* dat. PY Cn 418.1 (with *-u-* poss. written over ⟦*da*⟧ indicating that it was an afterthought for the sake of exactness) (Class iii). It may not be a case of omission but an instance of the well known dissimilation of /weu/ to /wei/ prompted by the preceding /w/, cf. ἕειπον < **e-we-uk*^{w}*-o-m*, cf. Skt. *ávocam* (LEJEUNE 1972 §237); our word could provide evidence that the change (previously attributed to Common Greek) was in progress in Mycenaean times.

In some cases, the /u/ element of the diphthong is indicated by alternative spellings:

e-wa-ko-ro /Ewagros/ MN 'He with good fields' KN V(5) 1005.A (Hand 125), cf. Εὔαγρος *LGPN* I, 169; II, 162; IIIA, 157, vs *e-u-wa-ko-ro* PY Jn 431.23 (Hand 2); *e-wa-ṛẹ*[/Ewarēs/ KN X 7573, cf. Εὐάρης *LGPN* I, 171; IIIA, 159, vs *e-u-wa-re* PY Jn 693.2 (Hand 2) and *e-wa-ra-jo* /Ewarai^{j}os/ KN Db 1367.B (Hand 117) could actually represent consonantalizations of /u/ between vowels.

e-we-pe-se-so-me-na MY Oe 127 (Hand 55) if /eu-epsēsomena/ 'to be well boiled' from ἕψω (although the Mycenaean spelling speaks against an initial aspiration)[129] could also be explained as an instance of consonantalization between vowels.

o-wo-ze PY Eb 338.B (Hand 41) vs *o-u-wo-ze* PY Ep 704.7 (Hand 1) /owwordzei/ '[(s)he] does not work [on it]' clearly represents an absorption of /u/ by the following /w/, though we cannot exclude that it is a graphic rule according to which /uw/ may be replaced by /w/.

There are some instances of apparent *u*-diphthong and we begin with the clearest one:

In comparison with the well known alph. Gr. comparative μείων 'smaller' we find a well attested stem **meyw-* < enlarged **mey-u-*, cf. Hitt. **meyu-*, *m^{e}/$_{i}$yawes* 'four',

[129] An alternative and better interpretation could be /ewepsēsomena/ from **h$_{1}$web^{h}-s-*, as in BEEKES 1969, 67.

primary comparative from a verb 'lessen' (*LIV* 426.1): sing. *me-u-jo* KN Ak(1) 612.B+ (Hand 103); Ak(2) 615.3+ (Hand 108), 9485.2; plur. *me-u-jo-e* KN Ak(2) 613.2+ (Hand 108), Ak(1) 634.B (Hand 103), all qualifying boys/girls; plur. neuter *me-u-jo-a*$_2$ PY Sh 733+ (Class ii), qualifying armour attachments (*o-pa-wo-ta*) vs sing. *me-wi-jo* KN Ak(1) 610.3+ (Hand 103), Ak(3) 780.2 (Hand 102), all qualifying boys/girls; PY Ta 641 (Hand 2) qualifying **202*^{VAS}, Cn 202.2 (Hand 1) as a MN, plur. *me-wi-jo-e* KN Ai(3) 824.1.2, Ak(1) 619.3+ (Hand 103), Ak(2) 627.2+ (Hand 108), Ak(3) 780.3+ (Hand 102), all qualifying boys/girls, K(1) 829.2.3 (Hand 102), qualifying again **202*^{VAS}*+DI*.

The Knossos evidence is clear: Hands 103 and 108 use both the *me-u-jo* and *me-wi-jo* spellings indiscriminately, and so a phonetic variant is unlikely. At Pylos the evidence shows that it is a matter of scribal choice. Therefore we have one single form **meyw-yos-* > /meiwyos-/ which can be written with two different GRAPHIC syllabifications /meiu̯yos-/ and /meiwyos-/. There is no question of a Sievers variant /meiw-iyos-/.[130]

di-u-ja PY Cn 1287.6 (Hand 31), gen., and Tn 316*v*.6 (Hand 44), probably dat. of GN /Diwia/ (derivative *di-u-ja-jo-qe* PY Tn 316*v*.4 [Hand 44], dat. 'shrine of the goddess D.'), *di-u-jo* PY Tn 316*v*.8 (Hand 44), dat. 'shrine of Z.'; derivative *di-u-ja-wo* TH Of 26.3+ (**di-*65-j...* is not attested, but cf. *di-*65-pa-ta* KN Ln 1568.2b (Hand 103) /Di̯upʰantās/?) vs *di-wi-ja* PY An 607.5 (Hand 1), gen. of GN /Diwi̯a/; TH Gp 313.2? vs MN *di-wi-jo* PY Mb 1366 (Hand 14); *di-wi-jo-de* PY Fr 1230 (Class ii) 'to the shrine of Z.'; KH Gq 5.1 *di-wi-jo-jo* KN Fp(1) 5.1 (Hand 138) '(Month) of D.'; derivatives: MN *di-wi-ja-ta* PY Nn 228.4 (Hand 1); *di-wi-ja-wo* KN Vc(1) 293 (Hand 124-G), and perhaps Xd 97; PY Na 406.B (Hand 1); TH Ug 11 (Hand 301); the obscure fragment *di-wi-je-ja/di-wi-ja* [KN Xd 97 (Hand 124) could belong to the religious sphere; the high officer (*e-qe-ta*) *di-wi-je-u* PY An 656.2.9 (Hand 1), dat. *di-wi-je-we* PY Cn 3.2 (Hand 1), Es 645.4+ (Hand 1), MN, may also belong here.[131] We are dealing with adjectives built on the zero grade **diw-* > **δῖϝ-iyος* δῖος 'belonging to heaven, godlike' (*Il.*), also 'belonging to Zeus' (Trag.), often used as month names (Thessaly, Macedonia, Aetolia Δῖος); the feminine derivative was δῖα < **diw-iyh*$_2$, cf. Skt. *divyá-*. Cf. *IEW* 183, **diew-* 'heaven'.

In conclusion, in our view the various Mycenaean forms represent **Diw-iya* and **Diw-iyos* with different GRAPHIC syllabifications /Diu̯ya/ and /Dilwya/, /Diu̯yos/ and /Dilwyos/.[132]

ka-ra-u-ja MY Fu 711.8 vs *ka-ra-wi-ja* TH Fq(1) 169.4+ (Hands 305, 307, 310); these are both probably variant spellings of an adjective based on /graus/ 'old woman', cf. γραῦς (a secondary *u*-stem **ĝ$_{\mathrm{e}}$rh$_2$-yu-s* or an ancient compound **ĝ$_{\mathrm{e}}$rh$_2$-āyu-*, cf. Skt. *jarā́yu-*), from the root **ĝerh$_2$-*, cf. also γέρων, γέρας), cf. plur. *ka-ra-we* KN Ap 694.2+ (Hand 103) /grāwes/ 'old women'. The adjective **ĝ$_{\mathrm{e}}$rh$_2$-w-yh$_2$* > /grāwya/ would

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[130] Note that **me-*65-jo* is not attested, since that spelling would imply a trisyllabic word /mei̯lu̯yos/ and not the disyllabic /meilwyos-/. Similarly we do not have **me-*79*.

[131] It is not excluded that the MN *di-wi-je-u* is actually a shortened form of a compound built not on /Diwi°/, like Διϝτρέφης, since Διϝει° would perhaps be expected, cf. Διϝείθεμις, but on /Dwi°/ 'two', cf. Διϝιππος *LGPN* IIA, Διϝικκέτας *LGPN* IIIB, etc., and perhaps Διεύς *LGPN* IV, cf. Διέρνης *LGPN* IV.

[132] A third spelling possibility would exist if our interpretation of the syllabogram **79* as *wo*$_2$?? is correct, cf. MELENA 1978.

appear therefore with two different GRAPHIC syllabifications /grāulya/ and /grālwya/, cf. Γραῖα, Γραῖος *LGPN* III.A, 103, Γραιΐας I, 111, Γραίη IV, *s.v.* Tarentine γραιϝία (written γραιβία in Hesychius), a festival, shows an unexplained diphthong in the root.

Further cases of variation in graphic syllabification are possibly the following:

de-u-jo-i KN Fh 352 (Hand 141), dat. plur., obscure description of recipients of oil allowances; the MN *de-wi-jo* PY An 519.10 (Hand 1); Aq 218.10 (Hand 21) is probably a patronymic in /-i̯os/ or /-i̯ōn/ and can hardly be a variant spelling of the Knossos form.

MN *ka-u-ja*[KN U 4478.6 (Hand 202) vs]*ka-wi-ja* KN Uf(1) 79 (Hand 124-s), perhaps a MN (but a restored PN *a-*]*ka-wi-ja* is not excluded and is perhaps more likely). A widely attested MN *ka-wi-jo* PY An 192.14 (Hand 22); TH Fq(1) 120.1+ (Hand 305) could be related, but Duhoux[133] is probably right in preferring an interpretation as /Skaiwi̯os/, cf. Σκαῖος, though a shortened form /Kalwi̯os/, cf. Καλλίας, from a compound with /Kalwi°/ is not excluded.

Also to be included although no variants are attested:

pa-ra-u-jo KN Ga(2) 425.A (Hand 136), could be the name of a man responsible for the *apudosis* of *po-ni-ki-jo*, but it is not excluded that it is a description of the commodity itself (unattested **pa-ra-wi-jo*), perhaps built on /prāus/ (< **pr̥h₂-yu-s*) cf. πραῦς: an ancient comparative /prāw-yos/ 'softer, milder' (later on replaced by πραότερος in Attic, but cf. πραΰτερον in Pl. *Tim.* 85a) would be therefore a likely interpretation.

The MN *po-ro-u-jo* PY Jn 658.5 (Hand 21), 725.5 (Hand 2) refers to the same bronze smith in both tablets and contrasts with an unattested **po-ro-wi-jo*, /Plow-yos/ or /Plow-yon/. Cf. the old inherited derivative πλοῖον 'craft, ship' from **plew-* 'to flow' (*LIV* 487f.) and the possessive compound MN *e-u-po-ro-wo* PY Jn 601.2+ /Euplowos/ 'Having a fair sail', built on the action noun πλό(ϝ)ος rather than on the agent name **πλο(ϝ)ός* (cf. Skt. *plavá-*) 'Being a good sailor'. For parallel formations see the MNs Πλοῦς *LGPN* I, 374 and Εὔπλους *LGPN* I, 182, II 180f., III.A, 172, III.B *s.v.*, IV *s.v.* The probable month name *po-ro-wi-to-jo* PY Tn 316.1 (Hand 44), gen. of **πλωϝιστος*, is related to this root, cf. πλωΐζω.[134]

The MN *ke-ra-u-jo* PY Eb 501.A (Hand 41), Ep 301.11 (Hand 1) (to date **ke-ra-wi-jo* is unattested) might be perhaps interpreted as built on /Kera-wos/ (see Lat. *cer-uus* < PIE **ǩerh₂-w-o-*), cf. Κεραίων *LGPN* I, 254, Κεραϊώ *LGPN* III.B *s.v.*[135]

There is also evidence for a similar alternation when the cluster /Vwr/ is involved. The clear instances are:

ra-u-ra-ta MN KN Dd 1300.B (Hand 117); derivatives (PN/ethnic) *ra-u-ra-ti-ja* PY On 300.9 (Class ii), *ra-u-ra-ti-jo* PY Ad 664 (Hand 23) vs PN *ra-wa-ra-ta* PY An 723.3 (Hand 1); *ra-wa-ra-ta₂* PY An 298.1 (Hand 3), Jn 829.14 (Hand 2), Ma 216.1 (Hand 2); derivatives *ra-wa-ra-ṭi-ja* PY An 830.11 (Hand 1), *ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* PY Cn 45.1+

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133 DUHOUX 2002-2003, 182.

134 However we cannot exclude an abbreviate compound with /Prōwi°/ Πρωΐ° used as a MN, cf. Πρωΐας *LGPN* III.A, 379.

135 Absolutely unclear are:]*a-u-ja*[TH Xb 180.2, and]*ṇo-u-ja-de*[TH Ug 43 (in fact]*-u-ja-de*[).

(Hand 21), all built on /Lawrā/, cf. λαύρα 'passage'. The spellings seem to point to a different graphic syllabification /Lauhrāstai/ vs /Lalwrāstai/ (see further in § 17.3.3.5.2).

ru-ko-u-ro PY Es 644.10+ (Hand 1) vs *ru-ko-wo-ro* PY Es 650*v*.1 (Hand 11) MN /Lukowr-/ < **luk(o)owr-* whatever its second member.[136]

Another possible instance without an attested *-u-*variant is:

e-wi-ri-po PN in PY An 610.6 (Hand 1), with the adjective *e-wi-ri-pi-ja* PY Aa 60 (Hand 4), cf. εὔρῖπος, Εὐρίπιος; it represents a graphic syllabification /E|wrīpos/ and /E|wrīpi^{j}ai/.

We have no evidence for /Vwl/.[137]

The evidence for /Vwn/ is almost non existing: only the pair *ka-u-no* (TH Z 839) /]*ka-ẉo-ṇo* [(MY X 707.2) could be mentioned, although the reading of the latter word is uncertain; we could compare alph. Gr. χαῦνος 'porous'. A difficult case is the ?MN *e*?]-*ḳe-ra$_2$-u-na* PY Un 853.1 (Hand 6): if the word represents the nominative elsewhere spelled as *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo*, it would also imply an odd use of *-u-* for *-wV-*.[138]

To conclude: in the /VwR/ sequences, /w/ could be written either as a plain vowel *u* or as the first member of a consonantal cluster /wR/, cf. later Greek ᾽Αϝλο-νι vs Αὐλῶνι, showing a neutralization of graphemes.

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[136] To these examples it might be possible to add *o-ke-u-ri-jo* TH Av 104.3, Ft 140.4 (Hand 312), a geographical reference (either an ethnic or a PN), if *o-* is a prefix, and if it can be compared with *o-pi-ke-wi-ri-je-u* PY Ta 709.3 (Hand 2). The latter is a description of a three-footed cauldron, which could be interpreted as /opi-skelwri^{j}ēus/ and taken as an ethnic from /opi-skelwri^{j}a/ ***ke-wi-ri-ja* (region) where **ke-wo-ro*/**ke-u-ro* lies. We can also add *ki-u-ro* KN B(5) 801.4 (Hand 104), Dl 47.2, MN; plur. dat. *ki-u-ro-i* PY An 1282.2 (Class iii), description, vs *ki-wa-ra* PY Vn 1339.2+ (Class iii), name of an implement, all implying /skiwr-/ 'rough (ground)', alph. Gr. σκῖρος, σκίρρος. These are likely instances of different graphic syllabifications: /skilwra/ /skiulros/.
In theory the following forms could belong to the same group as those discussed above even though we do not have the <wV-rV> alternative:
a-pa-u-ro KN Db 1196 (Hand 117), Mc 4463.A (Hand 132)
ka-ra-u-ro PY An 192.8 (Hand 22), Jn 70.7 (Hand 2)
ma-no-u-ro PY Jn 605.7+ (Hand 2)
re-pe-u-ri-jo PY Cn 40.11 (Hand 21)
si-no-u-ro PY Cn 285.8 (Hand 1), cf.]*-no-u-ṛọ* [KN Dv 8288 (where *-u-* was added later, between *-no-* and *-ṛọ*[) (Hand 117?)
so-u-ro PY En 609.12 (Hand 1), Eo 224.2 (Hand 41)
]*te-ra-u-re-o* PY Sa 22 (Class iii).

[137] *a-wa-ra-ka-na* PY Vn 1314.3.B; gen. *a-wa-ra-ka-na-o* on line .1 (Class ii), is a word of uncertain interpretation and in theory could have had alternative spellings like **a-u-ra-ka-na* or **au-ra-ka-na*. If it is interpreted as /alwlaknās/ (cf. αὖλαξ), it would represent an instance of a cluster /wl/.

[138] The following forms could in theory be *-u-*instances of the same alternations:
pa-ta-u-na MN KN As(1) 608.2+ (Hand 103)
ta-u-na-so MN KN De 1269.B (Hand 117), Dv 8357.B (Hand 117), Ga(2) 417 *lat. inf.* (Hand 136), X 1478
to-u-na-ta MN KN Dm 1182 (Hand 117), Dv 1479 (Hand 117).

§17.3.4.2.3. *The graphic omission of consonants in syllabic coda*

The Linear B rule which omits the phonemes found in the syllabic coda applies generally to the sibilant /s/ as well as to all resonants (*l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, *y*) except for /w/:

	INTERNAL	BEFORE #
/l/	*ka-ko* /k^{h}al|kos/	—
/r/	*ko-wo* /kor|wos/ *pe-ma* /sper|ma/	*pa-te* /patēr/
/m/	*a-pi-* /am|p^{hi}°/ *a-ti-* /an|ti°/	—
/n/	*pa-te* /pan|tes/	*te-ko-to* /tek|tōn/ *a-ne-mo*(-) /anemōn(-)/
/y/	[see diphthongs]	
/s/	*pa-ka-na* /p^{h}as|gana/ *wa-tu* /was|tu/	*pa-te* /pan|tes/ *ka-ko* /k^{h}al|kos/.

At Knossos, scribe 128 wrote the perfect participle 'fitted with wheels' (cf. the denominative alph. Gr. verb ἁρμόζω) with an *anomalous* spelling /al\|ra\|rmo\|tmenā/ (/ikwi^{j}ā/) (or /-ō/): *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* KN Sd 4402.b+ and *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-no* KN Sd 4401.b, dual, in contrast with a single instance of /al\|ra\|rmot\|menā/ spelled *a-ra-ro-mo-to-me-ṇa*[KN Sd 4416.b (Hand 128)[139]. An /r/ in such a coda position before /m/ should not have been written: this is plainly clear in the negative adjective 'with no wheels fitted' /al\|nar\|mostos/ /-a/ *a-na-mo-ta* KN Sf(2) 4465 (Hand 129?), 7723.b, and *a-na-mo-to* KN Sf(2) 4420.b (Hand 129?), Sf(1) 4421+ (perhaps in Hand 128 as well). The word for 'wheel' is always written without any *r*-sign, both at Knossos and elsewhere. At Knossos: *a-mo* KN Sg 1811.5 /armo/ (< **ar-mn̥*) 'fitting > wheel' cf. ἧραρον, ἀραρίσκω, plur. *a-mo-ta* KN Sf(2) 4420*v*.b (Hand 129?), So(1) 4429. b+ (Hand 130), So(2) 4431 (Hand 131?), 4435.B (perhaps in Hand 128 as well); Wb 7907 — derivatives (?) *a-mo-te* KN So(2) 4442.b (Hand 131), *a-mo-te-re* KN Xe 6026 (Hand 103?), X 770.b similarly written without /r/. Elsewhere: at Pylos *a-mo-ta* PY Sa 790 (Hand 26), Wa 1148.1: *a-*]*ṃo-ta* (Hand 26: label for the Sa series, a fact that guarantees the supplement), plur.; dat. plur. *a-mo-si* PY An 1282.1 (Class iii) — derivatives *a-mo-te-wi-ja* PY Ta 711.2 (Hand 2), *a-mo-te-wo* PY Ea 421+ (Hand 43), *a-mo-te-jo-na-de* PY Vn 10.2 (Hand 3), *a-mo-i-je-to* PY Va 15 *v*.a (Class ii), *a-mo-ta-jo* PY Jn 320.2 (Hand 2), MN — and recently at Thebes *a-ṃo-ta-ro-ko* TH Fq 236.6 (Hand 310), MN /Armota-loigos/?

[139] This is an unexpected syllabification, but it cannot be due to an orthographic principle, since in Greek /rm/ is not allowed in word initial position, whereas /#tm/ is (τμήδην, τμητός, τμῆσις).

It should be emphasized that the participle *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* etc. is only used by the scribe 128 and it is possible that the spelling is a personal usage based on the active perfect participle /arāruiʲa/ *a-ra-ru-ja* KN Sd 4401.a+ (also used by Hand 128).[140] This feminine form with a zero-grade suffix *a-ra-ru-ja* < **h*$_2$*re-h*$_2$*r-ws-yh*$_2$ appears incomplete once in a record in KN Ra(1) 1551.a by Hand 126, where it is later corrected into *a-ra-ru-wo-a*, the spelling normally used by Hand 126 for the neuter form of the participle with full-grade suffix which qualifies *pa-ka-na* and derives from **h*$_2$*re-h*$_2$*r-wos-yh*$_2$, (KN Ra[1] 1541+). In this sense, R.S.P. Beekes[141] pointed out that *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* could have taken its 'reduplication' from the perfect form *a-ra-ru-ja*.

Notation of /s/

The orthographic rule according to which /s/ before consonant is not written, either in syllabic coda (*ti-ri-po-di-ko* Τριποδίσκος) or word-initially (e.g. *pe-ma* σπέρμα), is broken:

A) In names:

i-su-ku-wo-do-to MN KN Fh 348.1 (Hand 141) /Isk^{h}u^{w}odotos/.
]*sa-ka-ri-jo* MN KN V(7) 1523.3 (Hand 101) /(I)sk^{h}aliʲos/ cf. ἀνίσχαλος, ἴξαλος.

B) In contextually supported words:

e-sa-pa-ke-ṃẹ[*-na* KN L 7375 (= 508bis).a, L(9) 7401.a (Hand 213?): cloth description, perhaps /espargmena/ 'swaddling clothes' cf. σπάργανα (J.T. Killen *per litteras* and *Documents*^{2}, 546) or less likely /esp^{h}agmena/, cf. σφάζω, but in what sense?

A dubious form *sa-pa* KN L 693.2 (Hand 103) could in theory be interpreted as a metal 'wedge' /sp^{h}ān/ followed by a small quantity of 50 g but see below § 17.3.4.2.9 for an etymological difficulty and an alternative interpretation.

sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja KN C(2) 941.B (Hand 112), X 9191.a: livestock description /sp^{h}aktēriʲa/ 'suitable for slaughtering', cf. σφάζω.

si-ki-ro KN U 8210.1 (along with *DIPTE* on line .2) /skirros/ 'gypsum' used for treating parchments?

The major exception is that of /s/ before /m/. Following a pattern that was probably inherited from Linear A (see below), in Linear B any /s/ before /m/ must be noted:

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[140] Hand 128 also wrote *ạ-ra-ru-wo-ja* on KN Sd 4408.a for a singular or plural feminine instead of *a-ra-ru-ja*. It is clearly a faulty formation for a feminine and the error could be paralleled by the faulty *po-ni-ja-ja* written instead of *po-ni-ki-ja* on line .b of the same record. Following the usual practice of first writing line .b and then line .a, *po-ni-ja-ja* was written immediately before *ạ-ra-ru-wo-ja*.

[141] Beekes 1969, 115.

C) In names:

ma-so-mo KN Dl(1) 932.B+ (Hand 118), PN, but a trisyllabic interpretation is not absolutely excluded.

]*se-me-ni*[KN V(4) 5872.3 (Hand 103), MN, could be restored as *i-*]*se-me-ni*[*-jo* /Ismēniʲos/, cf. Ἰσμήνη.

se-me-tu-ro MN KN Dc 1364.B (Hand 117) could be interpreted as a nickname /Smetulos/ which would be otherwise spelled as *me-tu-ro* on KN C 954.2, cf. μίτυλος.

si-mi-te-u MN KN Am(2) 827.1, V(5) 1583.A (Hand 125); TH Av 106.3 (Hand 304); /Smintʰēus/, cf. σμίνθος, Σμινθεύς *LGPN* I, 409.

Here one could add the PN *sa-ma-ra* PY Jn 829.15 (Hand 2), Ma 378.1 (Hand 2), On 300.11 (Stylus 300 of Class ii), Wa 730.2 (Hand 2); all. *sa-ma-ra-de* PY An 35.3 (Hand 3), if /Smara/; derivative *sa-ma-ri-jo* KN Da 1147 (Hand 117), Np(2) 857 (Hand 134) /Smariʲos/; possible derivative *sa-ma-ri-wa* PY Na 195.B (Hand 1) and *sa-ma-ri-wa-ta* KN As(1) 645.2 (Hand 103), Dv 1188.b (Hand 117).

D) In suffixes and word formants

a$_3$*-ka-sa-ma* PY Jn 829.3 (Hand 2) /aiksmāns/ 'points' (alph. Gr. αἰχμή).

ḍạ-so-mo PY Wa 730.1 (Hand 2) /dasmos/ 'portion' (an alternative reading for *ḍọ-so-mo*).

de-so-mo KN Ra(1) 1543.a+ (Hand 126); PY Mn 11.4 (Hand 2); compound *o-pi-de-so-mo* PY Ub 1318.2 (Hand 32) /desmos/ 'bond'.

do-so-mo /dosmos/ 'contribution' PY Es 644.1+ (Hand 1), Nn 831.1 (Hand 1), Un 718.1.2 (Hand 24), Wa 731.A (Hand 24). Cf. the derivatives /dosmiʲa/ /dosmiʲon/: *do-si-mi-ja* PY Ma 126.1 (Hand 2); MY Ge 606.1 (Hand 57); *do-*]*si̯-mi-jo* MY Ge 602.1 (Hand 57); *do-si-mi-jo-qe* PY Wa 730.2 (Hand 2).

ka-ra-so-mo MN PY Fn 79.7 (Hand 45), cf. χραισμέω 'ward off, defend'; this too could be built with the *-smos* suffix.

ko-sa-ma-to MN PY Eb 915.A (Hand 41), Ep 212.8 (Hand 1); KN Ga(1) 685 (Hand 135); hardly /Kosmātōr/ since we expect a long *ē*, but a compound with °/aitʰos/ *vel sim.*; and poss. *ko-sa-ma-ne* ?MN PY An 615.16 (Hand 1), presumably both built on /kosm(o)/°.[142]

It is not obvious why /sm/ should be written differently from e.g. /sp/. We may ask whether the notation of /s/ before /m/ could be an inherited practice which reflected a voiced /z/ phoneme which did not exist in Mycenaean Greek (where [z] is a positional allophone). If so, the cases of notation of /s/ before /kʰ/ or /pʰ/ could be interpreted as instances of a practice surviving from an earlier phase in which the aspirates were still voiced.

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[142] Note that we may find an etymological initial **sm-* written with a simple *mV-* sign as in e.g. *mo-ro-qa*, if /morokwās/ 'shareholder' < **smoro-*. The initial /s/ may have been lost as in later Greek, but the question is complicated because of the later alternations like μαρίλη/σμαρίλη 'coal-dust', μῆριγξ/σμῆριγξ 'bristle', μήρινθος/σμήρινθος 'string', μῖλαξ/σμῖλαξ 'bindweed' in rare vocabulary terms, or even μικρός/σμικρός 'small' in a frequent adjective.

§17.3.4.2.4. *The writing of clusters with* wau[143]

Special problems arise when the second member of a cluster is the resonant *wau* (/w/). Two standard notations are used:[144] CV_1-wV_1 and *Cu-wV*; thus e.g. /dwo/ can be written *do-wo* or *du-wo*. We assume here that both spellings point to the fact that the cluster belongs to a single syllable in contrast with spellings of the *ko-wa* /korwā/ type where the cluster is divided between two syllables. A classification follows.

Notation of clusters of stop and wau

	TAUTOSYLLABIC 'DUMMY' VOWEL		# 'DUMMY'	
#/lpw	pV_n-wV_a	—*	pu-wV	—
#/lp^{h}w	pV_n-wV_u	—*	pu-wV	—
#/ldw	dV_n-wV_n	*wi-**do**-wo-i-jo*	du-wV	*wi-**du**-wo-i-jo* MN
#/ltw	tV_a-wV_a	—	tu-wV	*e-ke-wa-**tu**-wọ* MN
#/lt^{h}w	tV_a-wV_a	*o-**to**-wo-o*	tu-wV	*o-**tu**-wo-we* MN
#/lgw	kV_a-wV_a	—*	ku-wV	*ri-**ku**-we*** MN
#/lkw	kV_a-wV_n	*o-da-**ke**-we-ta*	ku-wV	*o-da-**ku**-we-ta* 'with teeth'
#/lk^{h}w	kV_a-wV_a	*pa-ra-**ke**-we*	ku-wV	*pa-ra-**ku**-we* 'with p.'

See in addition §17.3.3.2.1-2 about the signs **86*, *dwe*, *dwo* and **82*, *twe*, **64*, *two*;

stands for word initial and | for syllabic division.

* The zero-grades of **pewh$_2$-* and **b^{h}ewh$_2$-* yield /pū/ and /p^{h}ū/ respectively, not clusters. The same would be true of **gewh$_2$-* as well. Morphological constructs with *-went-*, *-wos* and *-wos-* applied to roots in *-p*, *-p^h* and *-g* yield no clear examples.

** If this is /Lig-wens/ (*Mémoires* II, 23, 191) and not /Liguwens/. All the clusters of dorsal plus *wau* could also have been written with signs of the *q*-series: e.g. *i-qo* for /ikwos/. These spelling types might mark a morphological boundary.

Notation of clusters of resonant and wau

	TAUTOSYLLABIC 'DUMMY' VOWEL		# 'DUMMY'	
#/llw	rV_n-wV_a	—	ru-wV	a_2-***ru**-wo-te* /Hal-wont-ei/*
#/lrw	rV_n-wV_n	—	ru-wV	*a-ra-**ru**-wo-a* /arālrwoha/**
#/lmw	—***		—	

[143] Though written some years ago, the discussion by MORPURGO DAVIES 1972 still remains useful.

[144] Note that this view of syllabification is not generally agreed. Note also that spellings of the CV_1-wV_1 and *Cu-wV* type may also be interpreted as disyllabic with both *V* and *u* actually pronounced.

	TAUTOSYLLABIC 'DUMMY' VOWEL		*u* 'DUMMY'	
#/lnw	nV_a-wV_a	*ke-se-ni-wi-jo* *ke-se-ne-wi-jo*****	nu-wV	*ke-se-nu-wi-jo* 'of guests'

stands for word initial and | for syllabic division.

* PN 'Saltworks'.

** Not /rar|woha/ 'fitted'; *#rw-* is possible. Either a change in syllabification or a mark for morphological boundary?

*** We might expect a *mwV-* sequence in roots like **mewh*$_x$- 'shut' (Mycenacan *mu-jo-me-no* 'initiated'), if they had an alternant ***mw-eh*$_x$-, but in fact this is not attested.

**** With heterosyllabic 'dummy' vowel

Notation of clusters of sibilant and wau

	TAUTOSYLLABIC 'DUMMY' VOWEL		*u* 'DUMMY'		
#/lsw	sV_a-wV_a	*wi-so-wo-* /wilswo-/ 'equal'	su-wV	*e-wi-su-w…* *su-we-ro-wi-jo*	/ewilsw-/ MN /Swe…/

See in addition §17.3.3.2.2.1 about the signs **82*, *twe*, **64*, *two* and MELENA 1978 on sign **79*.

§17.3.4.2.5. *The writing of resonant clusters*

In the Fig. 17.14, we classify the Mycenaean clusters of two resonants and exemplify their spellings, though these are not always easy to determine. A blank space implies lack of attestations, though the cluster may well have existed. Note that Mycenaean does not mark in writing geminate consonants and consequently those slots have been left blank, except for the liquids where there may be special signs. Curly brackets ({}) surround some diachronic information which may be relevant.

	l	r	m	n	y	w
l	*rV* ?*ra*$_2$, ?*ro*$_2$ *pu*$_2$-*ra*$_2$-*a-ki-ri-jo* /p^{h}ulla-/?			{**ln* > lll *-o-pe-ro-si* /op^{h}ellonsi/}	?{**ly* > lll} Cf. *ra*$_2$, *ro*$_2$ but also *ri-jV*	MN *ka-wa-do-ro* /Kalwandros/ PN *a*$_2$-*ru-wo-te* /Hal-wont-ei/
r		*rV* *ra*$_2$, *ro*$_2$	*a-mo* /ar|mo/	*to-no* /t^{h}or|nos/	?{**ry* > rlr} Cf. *ra*$_2$, *ro*$_2$ but also *ri-jV*	*ko-wo* /kor|wos/ *a-ra-ru-wo-a* /arārlwoha/
m	*mo-ro-ko-* /Mlōkos°/	*o-mi-ri-jo* /olmri̯os/		*ma-na-si-we-ko* /Mnāsiwergos/ *de-mi-ni-ja* /demni̯a/	?{**my* > nln}	

	l	r	m	n	y	w
n		{*nr > ndr as in *-a-do-ro* /°anɪdros/}			?{*ny > nɪn}	*ke-se-ni-wi-jo*, *ke-se-nu-wi-jo* /kseɪnwiʲo-/ *ke-se-ne-wi-jo*? /kseɪnɪnwiʲo-/
y	{*Vyl > Vɪl}	{*Vyr > Vɪr}	{*Vym > Vɪm} *po-me* /poimēn/	{*Vyn > Vɪn} *ko-to-na* /ktoinā/	?? *-o-jo* gen. = /-oiʲo/ or /oyyo/	{*Vyw > Vɪw} *e-ra-wo* /elaiwon/
w	*wo-ro-ma-ta* ?/wɪõmata/ {*Vwl > Vull} *au-ro* /aulos/	*wi-ri-no* /wrīno-/ {*Vwr > Vulr}	{*Vwm > Vulm}	{*Vwn > Vuln}	*wy > wɪw	

Syllabic boundary is indicated by means of l. *Yod* and *wau* before resonant are considered as vocalic allophones functioning as a second member of diphthongs of the preceding syllable.

Fig. 17.14. The writing of resonant clusters

§17.3.4.2.6. *Notation of /mrV-/, /mlV-/ > Post-Mycenaean /(m)brV-/, /(m)blV-/*

The Mycenaean spelling shows a contrast in the development of the clusters /nr/ on the one hand and /ml/, /mr/ on the other. The development of an epenthetic glide in /nr/ is well attested and probably implies a change in the place of the syllabic boundary from /(-)ɪnr-/ to /(-)nɪ^{d}r-/, /(-)nɪdr-/: *a-di-ri-jo* /Andriʲos/, *a-di-ri-ja-* /andriʲant-/, *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra-* /Aleksandrā/, *ke-sa-da-ra/o* /Kessandrā/os/.

On the other hand in the /mr/ cluster the syllabic boundary is kept in its original place, as shown by the following data.

In the complete dossier of possible words with a sequence of labial nasal and liquid, we must first exclude those containing /mala-/ or /mara-/, cf. *ma-ra-tu-wo* MY Ge 602.2+ (Hand 57) /marat^{h}won/ 'fennel':

ma-ra-me-na[PY Vn 34.6 (Class iii) /Mālāmenā/, WN; *ma-ra-ne*[PY Mn 1410.2 (Hand 14), *ma-ra-ne-ni-jo* PY Ma 393.3 (Hand 2, ethnic), *ma-ra-ne-nu-we* PY An 610.11 (Hand 1, PN) and *ma-ra-ni-jo* PY Cn 643.3+ (Hand 1, MN); *ma-ra-pi-jo* MN KN Dd 1296.B (Hand 117) /Malampiʲos/ *ma-ra-si-jo* MN PY An 1281.11 (Hand 12); Jn 706.9 (Hand 21) /Malansiʲos/, probably all containing an assimilated **malan-* cf. μέλαν-;

ma-ra-pị PY Cn 418.3.7 (Class iii), perhaps /malāp^{h}i/ 'underbelly';

ma-ra-ta PY MN Jn 750.5 (Hand 2) /Malat$^{(h)}$ās/?; *ma-ra-te-u* MN PY An 657.7 (Hand 1), Aq 218.15 (Hand 21), Cn 328.5 (Hand 1) /Malat$^{(h)}$ēus/?; nom. plur. *ma-ra-te-we* PY Na 245.B (Hand 1) /malat$^{(h)}$ēwes?/, could be possibly connected with μαλατῆρες· ναῦται. *ma-ra-ti-sa* PY An 830.4 (Hand 1), perhaps a place-name, could also be related with the former.

Also to be excluded are:

me-re-ti-ra$_3$ PY Ab 789.B (over erasure) (Hand 21); *me-re-ti-ra$_3$*[*-o* PY Ad 308 (Hand 23); *me-re-ti-ri-ja* PY Aa 62 (Hand 4); 764 (Hand 1) 'grinders'; *me-re-u-ro* PY Un 718.10 (Hand 24) 'flour', all from **melh$_{1/2}$-* 'to crush, grind'.

me-re-u PY Ep 539.7 (Hand 1), MN, poss. a shortened name for Μελέαγρος *LGPN* I, 303, Μελήσιππος *LGPN* III.A, 293, or the like, cf. Μελέας *LGPN* III.A, 293; MN]*me-re-ja*[KN Xd 7811 (Hand 124-R?) could also be included.

mo-ro-qo-ro PY Ea 439+, gen. *mo-ro-qo-ro-jo* PY Ea 782+ (Hand 43) /Molog^{w}ros/ 'Dung-eater' (NEUMANN 1992, 75ff.), Μόλοβρος *LGPN* III.A, 304, cf. μολοβρός, is also to be excluded from consideration.

The obscure MN *pu-ma-ra-ko* PY Cn 643.5 (Hand 1) probably does not include a cluster /mr/.

In conclusion, for the notation of /(-)lmr-/ we are only left with the few words which follow:

i-mi-ri-jo KN Db 1186 (Hand 117) /Imri^{j}os/, MN cf. Ἴμβρος.

i-mo-ro-ne-u KN Vc(1) 55 (Hand 124-s); PY Jn 927.12 (Hand 2) /Imroneus/ MN, cf. Ἰμβρασος *LGPN* I, 234, if not related to Luwian *imrassa* 'of an open field', YAKUBOVICH 2010, 141.

o-mi-ri-jo-i KN Fh 356 (Hand 141) /Omri^{j}oihi/ 'To the Westeners' cf. Ὄμβριος and Ὀμβρίων *LGPN* I, 349, but still Ὄμρικος at Corinth *LGPN* III.A, 341, or 'To the Immortals' < */n̥-mri^{j}oihi/ VINE 1998, 35 n.

o-mi-ri-so KN C(4) 911.9 (Hand 111)?/Omrisos/ MN.

si-nu-mo-ro KN Mc 4456.A (Hand 132)?/Sinumros/ MN °μβρος.

Possible occurrences in word-initial position:[145]

mo-ro-ko-wo-wo-pi PY La 635 (Stylus 632 of Class iii), compound PN, if /Mrok^{h}o-/° from **merg^{h}-*, Βρόχυς *LGPN* III.A, 95; Μροχώ *LGPN* III.B, *s.v.*, cf. βροχή.[146]

mo-ro-qa KN C 954.1, Xd 7586 (Hand 124-5?), if not /moro-kwās/ PY An 519.2 (Hand 1), Aq 64.2+ (Hand 21), Jo 438.5+ (Class i) 'share-holder', cf. μόρος 'share of ground', but MN /Mrog^{w}ās/, cf. βραβεύς.

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[145] Cf. HEUBECK 1970.

[146] An alternative explanation of the gen. *mo-ro-ko-* could be /Mlōkos°/, cf. βλᾶξ, from **mĺ̥-k-*, a suffixed zero-grade from **melh$_2$-*, cf. Skt. *mlā́yati*. This would give us an instance of /ml/.

It is now clear that /mr/ behaves differently from /nr/ and retains the original position of the syllabic boundary (/lmr/). Since the articulatory basis for the epenthesis is the same as in /nr/,[147] it is likely that a */m^{b}r/* pronunciation was also available in Mycenaean times, but the absence or quasi-absence of an inherited /b/ phoneme (which in later Greek mainly originated from the labialization of labiovelar stops) prevented an explicit recognition of the epenthesis, a fact which may be responsible for the different graphic treatments of nasals and liquids clusters.

§17.3.4.2.7. *Writing the other consonantal clusters*

Internal consonantal clusters *may* be treated in the same way as clusters in word initial position i.e. as if they were preceded by a syllabic boundary. If so the vowel used as a 'dummy' vowel will be the vowel which follows the last consonant of the relevant cluster. In other words the notation is that used for tautosyllabic clusters, i.e. 'using the same vowel as that forming the core of the syllable'. Clusters with *wau* may also be written in an alternative way with /u/ used as a 'dummy' vowel.

Originally the practice of writing consonantal clusters by means of syllabograms with 'dummy' vowels may have had a phonetic basis in very slow styles of delivery and syllabification, which would have led to the rise of epenthetic vowels.

In Greek (and perhaps more generally in a number of IE languages) most clusters arise at morphemic boundaries: root/stem + derivational suffixes, root/stem + nominal or verbal endings. Since the stops most commonly represented in these morphemes were apical (the /-p^{h}i/ instr. plur. ending is an exception), clusters ending in other stops are rare. However, composition (particularly with preverbs) adds to the possible range.

In Mycenaean, we have direct evidence for a /kp^{h}/ cluster, possibly turned into /-k^{h}p^{h}i/, thanks to *po-ni-ki-pi* PY Ta 714.2.3 (Hand 2) /p^{h}oinik^{h}p^{h}i/, in a description of luxury seats inlaid 'with palms' of gold and blue glass paste. We may also speculate that athematic nouns ending in labiovelar would have a *-qi-pi* /-k^{wh}p^{h}i/ instr. plur.

In Greek the majority of occlusive clusters have an apical as second consonant (as indeed is the case for nasal clusters where only /mn/ exists to the exclusion of */nm/). This may explain the absence of occlusive clusters with initial /t, d, t^{h}/, which, if followed by another apical, would have undergone assimilation or dissimilation processes.

[147] Cf. Żygis 2010, 120ff.

For alphabetic Greek the best attested clusters are:

βδ πτ φθ
γδ κτ χθ

as in βδέω, ῥοῖβδος, πτερόν, λεπτός, φθόγγος, ἄφθαι, λύγδος, σμάραγδος, κτίω, λεκτός, χθών, ὄχθος.

It seems likely that Mycenaean had the same clusters even if they cannot all be documented in our texts and there are doubts about the presence of /b/, but in addition Mycenaean also had clusters of labiovelars and apicals:

g^wd k^wt $k^{wh}t^h$

As mentioned above the clusters are written with the help of a 'dummy' vowel and treated as if both consonants belonged to the same syllable. We may infer that the other clusters, even if not attested, would be written in the same manner. The following table illustrates the attested spellings and their examples as well as the spellings which, even in the absence of direct evidence, we assume were used; for these no examples are provided. The 'dummy' vowel is rendered by V, in **bold** in the transliteration:

		INITIAL	INTERNAL
bd:	pV-dV		
gd:	kV-dV		
g^wd:	qV-dV		
pt:	pV-tV	*po-to-re-ma-ta* /Ptolem°/ MN	*e-na-ri-po-to* /en-aliptos/ 'painted'
p^ht^h:	pV-tV		
kt:	kV-tV	*ki-ti-ta* /ktitās/ 'settler'	*pe-ko-to* /pekton/ 'carded'
k^ht^h:	kV-tV		
k^wt:	qV-tV		*ke-ni-qe-te-u* /k^hērnik^{w}tēus/ 'hand washer'
$k^{wh}t^h$:	qV-tV	*qe-te-se-u* /K$^{wh}t^h$eisēus/ MN	*e-qi-ti-wo-e* /ek$^{wh}t^h$iwohe/ 'starved'

References in the *General Indices* by F. AURA.

The same spelling practice was also used in writing some clusters of resonants as shown in Fig. 17.15:

	l	r	m	n
d	*de-ṛẹ-u-ko* /dleukos/ 'sweet wine' — Contrast Lak. ἑλλά < /sedlā/	*du-ru-to-mo* /drutomoi/ 'wood-cutters' *ke-sa-do-ro* /Kessanldros/ MN	— (alph. Gr. #dm-) ??*a-da-ma-o* /Aldmāhos/?, MN Cf. ἄδμητος	— (alph. Gr. #dn-) *ko-ri-ja-da-na* /koriʲaldna/ 'coriander'

	l	r	m	n
t	— (alph. Gr. #tl-) *a-ta-ra* /anltla/ 'Drained to the dregs'	*ti-ri-se-ro-e* /Triserohei/ GN *pu-ra-u-to-ro* /puraulstrō/ 'firetongs'	— (alph. Gr. #tm-) *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* /arārmoltmena/ 'with wheels on'	— *po-ti-ni-ja* /poltni^{j}a/ 'Lady'
t^h	— (alph. Gr. #t^hl-) — (alph. Gr. #t^hl-)	*to-ro-no* /t^hronos/ 'seat' *a-to-ro-qo* /anlt^hrōk^{w}os/ 'man'	— *ta-to-mo* /stalt^hmos/ 'upright'	??*ta-na-to* MN if /T^hnātos/ ?*pe-to-no* /Pelt^hnos/? PN
(b)				
p	*pe-re-u-ro-na-de* /Pleuronade/ PN *o-po-ro-me-no* /Holplomenos/ MN	*po-ro-* /pro°/ 'Vice°' *ku-pi-ri-jo* /Kulpri^{j}os/ MN	— *e-ra-pe-me-na* /erralpmena/ 'sewn'	— (alph. Gr. #pn-) *ka-pi-ni-ja* /kalpni^{j}a/ 'chimney'
p^h	*pi-ri-ja-o* /p^hli^{j}ahōn/ 'jambs' *-o-po-ro* /ōlp^hlon/ 'they owed'	?*pe-re-wa-ta* / P^hrēwatās/ MN *-o-pu$_2$-ru* /°olp^hrus/ PN	— see alph. Gr. γράμμα, γρόππα, γράθμα	— — (alph. Gr. -p^hn-)
g	*ka-ra-u-ko* /Glaukos/ MN *a$_3$-ka-ra* /Ailglā/ WN	*ka-ra-we* /grāwes/ 'old women' *pi-ra-ka-ra* /P^hilalgrā/ WN	— *do-ka-ma-i* /dorgmāhi/ 'handfuls'	?*ka-na-to* /gnat^{h}oi/ 'jaws' ?*tu-ka-na* /Stulgnā/ WN
k	*ka-ra-wi-* /klāwi°/ 'key(bearer)' *-ke-re-we-i-jo* /°lklewehi^{j}os/ MN	*ka-ra-te-ra* /krātērā/[148] 'mixer' *-ka-ra* /°lkrās/ 'head'	— (alph. Gr. #km-) *a-ka-ma-jo* /Alkmai^{j}os/ MN	*ka-na-ko* /knākos/ 'safflower' — (alph. Gr. -kn-)
k^h	*ka-ra-re-we* /k^hlārēwes/ 'stirrup jars' — (alph. Gr. -k^hl-)	*ki-ri-se-we* /k^hrisēwes/ 'anointers' *a-ko-ro-we* /halk^{h}rōwēs/ 'of uniform colour'	— *e-ka-ma-pi* /helk^{h}māp^{h}i/ 'with struts'	— *wa-ra-ko-no* ??/Wralk^{h}nos/ MN
g^w	*qe-re-ti-ri-jo* /g^{w}lētri^{j}ō/ 'fastenings' *qo-ro-mu-ro* /G^{w}lōmullos/ MN	?*qi-ri-ta-ko* /G^{w}rit^{h}akos/ MN *-qi-ri* /°lg^{w}ris/ MN	— —	— —
k^w	— —	*qi-ri-ja-to* /k^{w}ri^{j}ato/ 'bought' —	— —	— *de-qo-no* /deilk^{w}non/ 'banquet'

[148] Since /krātērā/ is a very odd formation, see below note 151.

	l	r	m	n
k^{wh}	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—

The gaps in our Mycenaean evidence are indicated by blank spaces but in most instances there are all reasons to suppose that such clusters existed e.g. in the zero grade of some roots. A representative word initial form is recorded first, followed by a representative internal form (the syllabic boundary is noted by |). Remember that liquid and nasal resonants in syllabic coda are omitted in writing.

Fig. 17.15. Writing of consonantal clusters of stop plus non-syllabic liquid and nasal resonants

There are however instances of a heterosyllabic 'dummy' vowel (i.e. 'using the same vowel as that of the preceding syllable'). Thus, in the oblique cases and derivatives of *wa-na-ka* Ϝάναξ 'king' the most frequent spelling is heterosyllabic:

wa-na-ka-te KN Ga(1) 675 (Hand 135); PY Fr 1220.2+ (Hand 2), Un 2.1 (Hand 1), 1426.2 (Stylus 1426 of Class i).

wa-na-ka-te-ra KN Lc(1) 525.A (Hand 103); *wa-na-ka-te-ro* KN X 976.1b (Hand 225); PY Eb 903.A (Hand 41), En 74.3+ (Hand 1), Eo 160.3+ (Hand 41), Er 312.1 (Hand 24).

]*wa-na-ka-to* PY La 622*v*.1 (Hand 13).

a-na-ka-te PY Un 219.7 (Hand 15, error for *wa-na-ka-te*).

The tautosyllabic rule for the writing of the /kt/ cluster is, however, retained in *wa-na-ke-te* PY Fr 1215.1 (Stylus 1219 of Class ii); TH Xp 105.2.

The more frequent heterosyllabic spelling could be due to a kind of paradigmatic pressure aimed at keeping the link with the nominative *wa-na-ka* /wanaks/, but this practice seems to be used in other words:

sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja KN C(2) 941.B (Hand 112), X 9191.a /sp^{h}aktēri^{i}a/ and the odd spelling of the MN /Alektru^{w}ōn/ as *a-re-ka-ṭų*[-]*ṛų-wo* KN Sc 256.*v*: it seems that *ka* is used as a kind of syllabogram with 'dummy' vowel (a practice which could have been eventually developed for writing final consonants, see note 151 below).

**34-ka-te-re* PY Va 15.1 (Class ii) contrasts with the tautosyllabic spellings *a-ke-te-re*, a_2-*ke-te-re* and *ja-ke-te-re*; the derivative **34-ra-ḳa-te-ra* is plainly parallel to *wa-na-ka-te-ra*.

Is *e-ka-te-re-ta* KN Se 891.B (Hand 127) an odd spelling for /ek-trēta/ or does it contain an adverb /enkas°/? cf. *e-te-re-ta* KN Se 879.b (same Hand) /en-trēta/, cf. τετροίνω? It is difficult to understand the exact meaning of these technical terms which concern the 'wheel-holes' of the wainwright.

§17.3.4.2.8. *Triconsonantal clusters*

The Mycenaean conventions used in writing biconsonantal clusters apply also to clusters involving three consonants, except for those in which the first consonant (a sibilant, a nasal or liquid) belongs to the preceding syllable (e.g.

ἴσιθμος, ἄνιτρον, κέγιχρος, στιλιπνός). In alphabetic Greek we find only sequences like κτρ (e.g. ἤλεκτρον), πτρ (e.g. σκῆπτρον) and χθρ (e.g. ἐχθρός); in Mycenaean these are matched by *re-u-ko-to-ro* /Leulktron/, the PN Leuktron, and *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* /Alelktru^{w}ōn/, the MN Alektruon[149]. A form like *a$_3$-ka-sa-ma* /aiksmāns/ should also be considered here, although the sibilant disappears in post-Mycenaean times while aspirating the preceding dorsal stop, cf. αἰχμή.

§17.3.4.2.9. *Consonant clusters at word end*

Final consonantal clusters are treated in the same way as they would be if they occupied the syllabic coda: every resonant (except for vocalic /w/) is omitted and so is the sibilant.

One of the developments of the orthographic rules concerns the clusters of stops plus sibilant at word end, as in the nominative singular of dorsal and labiovelar stems.

According to the rule the stop which precedes the final unwritten /s/ is written with a 'dummy' vowel. This is clear in the compounds of °*ok^{w}*- which appear in (mostly colour) descriptions used as nicknames for men and as names for cattle:

a$_3$-ti-jo-qo	see §17.3.3.1.1.
e-ro$_2$-qo	see §17.3.3.3.1.2.
ka-ro-qo	KN Sc 257.1 (Hand 124) /K^{h}ar-ō̆k^{w}s/ 'with shining/blue grey face' or better /K^{h}ar-ok^{w}os/, cf. χαροπός.
po-ki-ro-qo	PY An 654.12 (Hand 1) /Poikil-ŏk^{w}s/ 'with patchy face'.
wo-no-qo-so	KN Ch 897+ (Hand 110) is likely to represent an individual attempt by the scribe to write the final sibilant of /woinŏk^{w}s/, cf. Hom. βόε οἴνοπε, rather than a compound /woinok^{w}-orsos/ 'with wine-coloured rump'.

In the following compounds, it is not clear whether the second member was °*ok^{w}*- or °*wok^{w}*- (from **wek^{w}*-):

]*dụ-ru-wo-qo*	?MN PY Un 853*v*.1 (Hand 6). A nom. /Dru^{w}-ok^{w}s/, cf. δρύοψ, is unlikely if the ordering after *do*[*-e-ro*] 'slave of D.' calls for a gen. /Dru^{w}-ok^{w}os/.
wa-ru-wo-qo	KN As 1516.23 (Hand 102) MN with an obscure first member: *wa-ru-* could be interpreted either as /Walu-/ 'rod', cf. ἀλύ-τᾱς (Bechtel 1921-1924 II, 863, cf. Goth. *walus*) or as /Waru-/, an expected (cf. Skt. *urú-* and *váras-*) zero-grade suffixed form from **werh$_x$*- alternating with a

[149] The MN *a-ku-tu-ru-wo*[/Al(e)ktru^{w}ōn/ KN Fh 364.a may be a different spelling, while *a-re-ka-ṭụ*[-]*ṛụ-wo* KN Sc 256 [+] 5163 is an attempt to mark the morphological boundary writing a syllabogram with a 'dummy' /a/ sometimes used for word end.

metathesized **h₂u-ru-*, which would yield the parallel Homeric compound εὐρύοπᾰ as well as the common Mycenaean compounds with *e-u-ru°*: *e-u-ru-da-mo*, *e-u-ru-po-to-re-mo-jo*, *e-u-ru-qo-ta* and *e-u-ru-wo-ta*.

The spelling rule which accounts for forms like *po-ki-ro-qo* for /Poikil-ŏ-k^{w}s/ is also attested in forms like *wa-na-ka* /wanaks/ 'king', *ra-ka* /rāks/ 'berry' and *to-ra-ka* /t^{h}ōraks/ 'corselet' (which appears also in an abbreviated spelling *to-ra*). Other instances could be *ki-da-pa* KN So 894.3, probably a kind of wood suitable for wheels and the MN *pu-ṛu-da-ka* PY Ep 539.9 (Hand 1).[150]

It is likely that a 'dummy' *a*-vowel was sporadically used to render the stop of a final cluster. This is clearly the case for the form *o-nu-ka* of the nom. sing. /onuk^{h}s/ 'claw', for which there is also a shorter spelling *o-nu* (cf. the abbreviated form *to-ra* mentioned above).We would expect **o-nu-ku*.

Other instances of the practice could be the following:[151]

ke-ni-qa /k^{h}ērnik^{w}s/ KN Ws 8497.β 'hand washer', instead of the expected **ke-ni-qi* (we assume that the word is complete and not followed by any other sign). This interpretation is correct if the word stands for the singular χέρνιψ, as expected in a nodule (one nodule for each object is the rule, unless two items are expressed by a dual as in *e-qi-ti-wo-e*) and is not the plur. of χέρνιβον;

ku-ru-ka /Gruks/ MN? KN Vc(2) 5510 (Hand 115?), cf. γρύξ, instead of **ku-ru-ku*;

sa-pa /sāps/ (and not /sp^{h}ān/ 'wedge' < **sp[e]h₂-ēn* VINE 2006, see above §17.3.4.2.9) KN L 693.2 (Hand 103) 'coil?', a light, precious commodity or material, of which only 50 g. are recorded;

ti-ri-jo-qa /Tri^{j}ōk^{w}s/ MN KN Sc 226+ (Hand 124-ı), instead of **ti-ri-jo-qo* (unless it must be read /Tri^{j}ŏk^{w}ās/, cf. Τριόπας D.S. 5.61.1);

to-mi-ka /t^{h}ōminks/ KN L(9) 761+ (Hand 213), a description of garments, instead of the expected **to-mi-ki*, cf. θῶμιγξ 'string';

to-ro-wi-ka /T$^{(h)}$rowiks/ MN PY An 5.3 (Class ii), instead of the expected **to-ro-wi-ki* (or the abbreviated spelling *to-ro-wi* PY Cn 131.6 [Hand 1], Jn 601.2 [Hand 2], cf. θρέ[ϝ]ομαι).

§17.3.4.2.10. *Graphic glides*

The use of graphic glides after /i/ and /u/ when followed by a vowel is probably a procedure inherited from Linear A. If we adopt some at least of the

[150] If /P^{h}ludāks/, cf. φλυδαρός, as φλύᾱξ and φλύαρος.

[151] Similar reasoning in MEISSNER 2008, who adds also *ki-to-na* KN Ld(2) 785.2 (Hand 114) for /k^{h}itōn/ and *ka-ra-te-ra* MY Ue 611.2 (Hand 60) for /krātēr/. CHADWICK 1987b, 80, had already proposed that *e-ke-ra₂-wo-ne* in PY An 724.5 (Hand 1) is in the nom. and that the spelling reflected an attempt to render the final /n/ according to the same principle that became the rule in later Cypriot Syllabic writing.

Linear B values for the similar signs of Linear A, we find that a well-known PN of Linear B, *se-to-i-ja*, occurs also in Linear A (PR Za 1b) and a derivative from another known Linear B place-name, *su-ki-ri-ta*, appears in Linear A as *su²-ki²-ri²-te²-i²-ja²* incised on pottery (HT Zb 158b; the PN itself on PH Wa 32). The Linear A sequences *di²-ja²*, *i²-ja²*, *wi²-ja²*, *ri²-ja²*, are well attested. All of them can be examples of *j*-glides. The same could be true of the *w*-glide, since sequences of the type *ru²-wa²*, *pu²-wa²*, etc. occurred in Linear A.

§17.3.4.2.10.1. J-glide

In Linear B, when an *i*-sound (including the written or unwritten second element of a diphthong) is followed by a vowel, a graphic glide is needed; in general its absence points to the presence of intervocalic aspiration. In Mycenaean Greek, the decrease in functional yield of the *yod* phoneme after the process of palatalization and subsequent depalatalization (or full-palatalization) resulted in the elimination of the /y/ phoneme itself and at the same time in the phonologization of its [i] vocalic allophone concurrently with the simplification of the earlier geminated *yod*'s. By the time of the Linear B documents, it is likely therefore that the *yod* phoneme no longer existed, though this is not generally accepted. Our interpretation of the graphic glide written with the syllabograms *ja je *ji²²* (if **63*) *jo* and **ju²²* (**65*) as a 'conservative' spelling could be reinforced by the suggestion that the glide-procedure was also borrowed from Linear A along with the syllabary itself. In our transcription, we represent the graphic *j*-glide as an index ^{j} without any phonic implication:[152] it could be omitted in a plain phonological transcription e.g. *do-si-mi-jo* /dosmion/, but we use the transcription /dosmi^{j}on/ where $^{<j>}$ is actually meant. In our view it was merely a graphic requirement. We shall review below the different instances of written or omitted glides below:

a) A difficult problem concerns the adjective of material in Mycenaean where the forms alternate between *Ce-o-*, *Ce-jo* and *Ci-jo-* and are differently interpreted by different authors (see e.g. RISCH – HAJNAL [on-line], 234f.). In my view the correct interpretation is *Ce-jo-* = /-ei^{j}o-/, *-Ce-o-* = [-eio-] and *-Ci-jo-* = /-i^{j}o-/. The question of the distinct suffixes or the Greek treatment of internal *yod* will be not discussed here. Alternative spellings WITH and WITHOUT *j*-glide merely represent personal variations by the scribe. This is shown by the fact

[152] Our position does not exclude that a subphonemic glide could arise automatically between /i/ and a following vowel.

that the same Hand can use different spellings, which speaks against a phonological contrast.[153]

b) A special case is that of the verbal adjective which is formed with a suffix apparently identical to that of the material adjective.[154] Alternations in spelling could also be attested in personal names, again in the suffix.[155] Though it is clear therefore that variation was permitted in suffixes, we wonder whether this may be justified by the fact that the meaning of the word was not at risk of being misunderstood.

c) At morphological junction, as in the case of the hypocoristic shortened names in *-ēus* built on a stem ending in /i/ or of other *-ēus* words.[156]

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[153] Hand 127 at Knossos regularly used the adjective in *-ios po-ni-ki-ja* /p^{h}oinikiʲa/ 'crimson' in the Se records, but also once *po-ni-ke-a* /p^{h}oinikeia/, an adjective in *-eyo-*, in Se 880.2.
e-re-pa-te-jo-pi (agreeing with *o-mo-pi*) /elep^{h}anteiʲop^{h}i/ '(with shoulders) of ivory' KN Se 891.A.B (Hand 127), with an analogical extension of the *-pi* ending, vs the regular *e-re-pa-te-o* /elep^{h}anteiois/ probably agreeing with *o-mo-pi* in Se 1007.2 (same Hand).
o-re-ne-ja /ōleneiʲa/ 'with sleeves or chevrons' KN L(2) 5108.A+ (Hand 103) vs *o-re-ne-a* /ōleneia/ L(2) 593.Ab (same Hand).
wi-ri-ne-jo /wrineiʲos/ 'of hide' KN Sd 4415.A+ (Hand 128) vs *wi-ri-ne-o* /wrineios/ Sd 4408.a+, Sf(1) 4428.a (same Hand).
Similar alternations occur with other scribes:
a-te-re-e-te-jo PY Tn 996.1 /antlēteiʲo-/ (*-re-e-* for *ē*?) 'provided with balers' (Class iii) vs *a-te-re-te-a* KN So 894.1.
e-re-pa-te-jo KN Sd 4403.a (Hand 128); PY Ta 642.3+ (Hand 2), *e-re-pa-te-jo-pi* KN Se 891.A.B (Hand 127; see above) vs *e-re-pa-te-o* KN Se 1007.2 (same Hand).
o-re-ne-ja KN Ld(1) 579.b+ (Hand 116), Ld(2) 787.B (Hand 114), L(2) 5108.A+ (Hand 103) vs *o-re-ne-a* KN L(2) 593.Ab (Hand 103), *o-*]*re-ne-o* KN L 758.a.
po-ni-ke-ja /p^{h}oinikeiʲa/ 'purple dyed' KN Ln 1568 *lat. inf.*b (Hand 103) vs *po-ni-ke-a* KN Se 880.2 (Hand 127).
With less certainty, the following can be listed as well:
]*mẹ-ṛị-te-o* KN U 7505.2a vs **me-ri-te-jo* cf. *me-ri-ti-*l*-jo* PY Wr 1360.β-.γ /meliti^{h}os/ 'honeyed'.
qa-sa-re-o PY Sa 755 (Hand 26) MN gen. vs **qa-sa-re-jo* which could be postulated because *-o* is written over ⟦*jo*⟧. However, since the MN is in the genitive, a nom. in *-ēs* is preferable.

[154] *qe-te-jo* PY Fr 1206+ (Hand 2); TH Gp(1) 109.1+ (Hand 306) vs *qe-te-o* KN Fh 348.2 (Hand 141), L(5) 513.a+ (Hand 209), 693.1 (Hand 103); TH Wu 49.β+ (β) cf. *qe-te-a* KN Fp(2) 363.1 (Hand 222); *qe-te-a*$_2$ PY Un 138.1 (Hand 42); TH Wu 51.γ+ (γ) /k^{w}eiteiʲos/, /k^{w}eiteia/, /k^{w}eiteiha/ 'to be paid' (**qe-te-ja* is not attested to date, but may be expected unless it is replaced by *qe-te-a*$_2$). IE comparison does not help with the reconstruction of the Proto-Greek suffix for the verbal adjective, and even the earliest alphabetic evidence, the Hesiodic φατειός, is differently interpreted by different scholars; the interpretation suggested above (which presupposes a *-yh-* sequence with *-yh-* from **-ys-*) may well be wrong.

[155] In the hypocoristic MN *a-me-a* KN Da 1189 (Hand 117), Od 765.b vs *a-me-ja* KN F(1) 153.3 (Hand 124), Xd 7954 (Hand 124) /Ameiʲas/, while the gen. *a-me-ja-to* /Ameiʲant^{h}os/ is found at Pylos in Sa 834 (Hand 26) and Sh 736 (Class ii Stylus 733).

[156] From /aigi/° dat. *a*$_3$*-ki-e-we* PY Vn 130.4 (Hand 1), gen. *a*$_3$*-ki-e-wo* PY Jn 605.10 (Hand 2), with no alternative spelling with *j*-glide; from /ski/° or /k^{h}i-/° *ki-e-u* PY An 724.9 (Hand 1), gen. *ki-e-wo* PY Aq 64.16 (Hand 21) vs *ki-je-u* KN Sc 251 (Hand 124-s), Xd 94 (Hand 124-v); from /pedi/° *pe-di-je-we* PY An 654.14 (Hand 1); adjective *pe-di-je-wi-ja* PY Va 1324.2 (Class ii) vs Wr 1328.β-.γ: *pe-di-e-*l*-wi* (Class i).

d) Hypocoristic shortened names in *-iōn* built on the first member ending in /i/ of an original compound.[157]

e) Nouns formed with a suffix beginning with /e/: *-ēn*, *-ē-tēr*.[158]

f) Words which include a prefix ending in /i/.[159]

Apart from these alternations linked to specific suffixes or prefixes, the absence of an expected *j*-glide can be interpreted as a default notation for an intervocalic aspiration[160] and explained as marking just that, intervocalic aspiration. This is clear when the following vowel is /a/, since the syllabary provides the sign a_2 as alternative for *ja*.

When the following vowel is not /a/, aspiration can be posited for forms where:

i) a preverb ending in /i/ is followed by a verbal stem with initial aspiration < **s*:

a-pi-e-ke PY Un 2.2 (Hand 1) /amp^{h}ihek^{h}ei/ < **seǧ^{h}*- 'encloses' (?); but contrast *a-pi-e-qe* TH Fq(2) 254.1 (Hand 305) which may be interpreted as /amp^{h}i-en-(s)k^{w}e/ < **amp^{h}i-en-sk^{w}e* (García Ramón 2012) 'declared' without internal aspiration, with a development **-ns-* > *-nn-* > *-n-* (before a stop) similar to an ancient cluster as in *me-no* KN Fp(1) 1.1+ (Hand 138); PY Fr 1224 (Hand 2) /mēnnos/ gen. 'in the month'; *e-po-mi-jo* KN Sk 789.A+ (Hand 206) dual /ep-ommi^{j}ō/ 'two over-shoulder pieces'; or *a-ni-ja* KN Sd 4402.b+ (Hand 128); PY Ub 1315.1-3 (Hand 31) /anni^{j}ai/ 'reins'.

iiα) a prefix ending in /i/ is followed by a noun stem with initial aspiration:

a-pi-e-ra PY An 1281.8.13 (Hand 12), Fn 50.13 (Stylus 324 of Class iii); MY Oe 103.1 (Hand 52) WN /Amp^{h}iherā/, cf. Ἀμφιθέα, Herā < **ser-*.

o-pi-e-de-i PY An 1281.2 (Hand 12) syntagm /opi Hedehi/ < **sed-* 'at the Seat'.

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[157] *a-pi-jo* PY Jn 725.14 (Hand 2); gen. *a-pi-jo-to* PY An 261.6+ (Hand 43) vs gen. *a-pi-o-to* PY An 261*v*.6, Un 616*v*.3 (both in Hand 1); cf. Ἀμφίων *LGPN* IIIB, 32, but note the *-ont-* suffix of Mycenaean; shortened name for e.g. Ἀμφίαλος, Ἀμφίδωρος, Ἀμφιμήδης, Ἀμφίλαϝος, all with Mycenaean counterparts.]*wi-pi-jo* KN X 8838.b vs *wi-pi-o* KN Nc 5103 (Hand 133), Ἰφίων, shortened name for e.g. Ἰφίνοhος, *wi-pi-no-o* KN V(6) 958.3b (Hand 101?).

[158] *pi-ri-je* KN K(1) 740.5 (Hand 102?) 'saw or toothed implement' cf. πρίω; *pi-ri-je-te* KN Ra(1) 1547+ (Hand 126);]*pi-ri-je-te-re* PY An 207.5 (Hand 43) 'maker(s)/user(s) of *pi-ri-je*' vs *pi-ri-e-te-re* PY Fn 7.4, *pi-ri-e-te-si* PY Fn 7.10 (Hand 3).

[159] Personal choice can also be seen in *ti-ri-o-we-e* dual PY Ta 641.2 (Hand 2) vs *ti-ri-jo-we* PY Ta 641.3 (same Hand) /tri^{j}-ōwwes/ 'with three handles' °*oww-ēs* < **h$_2$ous-*, although in this case the variation involves a compound juncture. On the other hand, the forms *ri-u-no* KN Xd 149.4 (Hand 124) vs *ri-*65-no* KN U(1) 49 (-**65*- over an erased sign, poss. *jǫ*), Hand 124-E, cf. the well-known place-name *ri-jo-no*; X 9519 and probably Xd 8132 (Hand 124) and X 5509, are variants for the same toponym, probably /Ri^{j}unos/ or /Ri^{j}onos/. This alternation could imply that *ri-* is a kind of prefix involving therefore a compound juncture.

[160] Note that aspiration can be noted explicitly in the case of a_2 and **65*, see under these signs, §17.3.3.5.1 and Melena 2013 respectively.

o-pi-i-ja-pi KN Sd 4401.a+, Sf(1) 4428.a (Hand 128) compound, instr. plur. /opi-hi^{j}āp^{h}i/ 'attachments to the reins', zero-grade *sh_2i- (cf. ἱμάς 'leather strap', Skt. *sīmā-*) < *seh_2i-.

iiβ) a lexical first element ending in /i/ is followed in a compound by second element with initial aspiration:

a-ni-o-ko KN V(2) 60.1b (Hand 124-B) 'reins holder, charioteer' vs **a-ni-jo-ko* cf. *a-ni-ja* KN Sd 4402.b+ (Hand 128); PY Ub 1315.1.2.3 (Hand 31) 'reins' cf. ἡνίαι; instr. plur. *a-ni-ja-pi* KN Sd 4401.a+ (Hand 128); this could be a case of a compound with a second member beginning with aspiration (°*hok^{h}os* *o*-grade of *$seĝ^{h}$-).

iii) a verbal stem ending in *-i* followed by a verbal suffix with initial aspiration: cf. infinitives in *-*sen* (e.g. *e-ke-e* PY /hek^{h}ehen/ < *$seĝ^{h}$-e-sen*).

a-re-sa-ni-e PY An 724.2 (Hand 1) and *a_2-ri-e* on line .5, are obscure forms, but they could be infinitives.

A disputed case does not at first sight fit neatly in the glide or aspiration categories: the alternation in the word for 'priest', *i-e-re-u* PY En 74.16+ (Hand 1) vs *i-je-re-u,* is usually taken as representing two different phonetic realities: /iherēus/ vs /hi^{j}erēus/. The former would be closer to the etymon **is-(*h_1*)ro* while the latter would represent a more developed form with the shifting of the intervocalic aspiration to the initial position. However, it is likely that we are merely dealing with an occasional, orthographic oscillation by Hand 1. The most frequent spelling of *i-(j)e-r...* uses a *j*-glide:

i-je-ro KN Dv 1447 (Hand 117), Fh 2013+ (Hand 141), Fp(2) 363.2 (Hand 222); TH Gp(1) 200.2 (Hand 306?), Wu 66.γ+; gen. *i-je-ro-jo* PY Ae 303.a (Hand 42) /hi^{j}eron/ 'pertaining to the divine'; *i-je-ra* TH Wu 44.β; compound *i-je-ro-wo-ko* PY Eb 159.A (Hand 41), Ep 613.7 (Hand 1) /hi^{j}ero-worgos/; *i-je-re-u* KN Am(2) 821.2; PY Aq 218.2+ (Hand 21), Eo 247.7+ (Hand 41), Ep 539.13 (Hand 1), Fn 837.5 (Hand 45), Qa 1290+ (Hand 15); gen. *i-je-re-wo* PY Ea 756 (Hand 43), Jn 431.25 (Hand 2) /hi^{j}er-ēus/, poss. shortened noun for /hi^{j}ero-worgos/; feminine *i-je-re-ja* KN Fp(1) 1.10+ (Hand 138); PY Ae 303 (Hand 42), Eb 297.1+ (Hand 41), Ed 317.1 (Hand 1), En 609.16+ (Hand 1), Eo 224.6.8 (Hand 41), Ep 539.7+ (Hand 1), Qa 1289+ (Hand 33), 1303 (Hand 15), Un 6*v*.1+ (Hand 6) /hi^{j}erei^{j}ā/; derivative *i-je-re-wi-jo* KN K(1) 875.6 (Hand 102); TH Gp 303.1 /hi^{j}erēwi^{j}on/; fragmentary *i-je-ṛẹ*[KN F(1) 5079.4b (Hand 124-D) could belong to any of the former.

At Pylos, Hand 1 twice used *i-e-re-u* in En 74.16, 659.4 whereas the same Hand usually used a *j*-glide spelling in *i-je-re-ja* Ed 317.1, En 609.16+, Ep 539.7+; *i-je-re-u* Ep 539.13; *i-je-ro-* as attested in the compound *i-je-ro-wo-ko* Ep 613.7.

In view of the alternative spellings by the same scribe mentioned above, we may conclude here that there is nothing exceptional in the two instances of *i-e-re-u* spelling. We certainly cannot use them as a basis for phonological speculation.

§17.3.4.2.10.2. W-glide

In most cases, a graphic *w*-glide was obligatory between /u/ and a following vowel. In transcription, we represent the graphic *w*-glide as an index ^{w} without committing ourselves to any phonetic interpretation; in a plain phonological transcription it can be omitted, e.g. *me-nu-wa* /Meinuas/; we use the transcription /Meinu^{w}as/ where <w> is actually meant.

Some variation is permissible, though seldom used. Here too it occurs in suffixes, as in the PN *a_2-ra-tu-a* PY Cn 3.3 (Stylus 608 of Hand 1) vs *a_2-ra-tu-wa* PY An 519.4 (Stylus 657 of Hand 1),?/Halatwa/. In both cases, the spelling without glide is merely a variation due to the same Hand and needs not point to an intervocalic aspiration, though it may serve to exclude a /-twa/ reading. The other case is that of the hypocoristic MN *me-nu-a_2* PY Aq 218.14 (Hand 21), Qa 1293+ (Hand 15) vs *me-nu-wa* KN Sc 238 (Hand 124), V(2) 60.3 (Hand 124-B), Xd 7702 (Hand 124); PY An 724.2 (Hand 1) /Meinu^{w}as/ cf. Μίνυας.

We should not treat as instances of missing glide those forms which appear to have an /ui/ diphthong, where the second element is (exceptionally) written:]*ku-i-so* KN Da 5214 (Hand 117) (see above); *pu-i-re-wi* MY Go 610.4 (Hand 57) dat. of **pu-i-re-u*.

Sequences of *Cu-wV* (where *C* stands for any consonant and *V* for any vowel) are ambiguous, since *wV* may be used both to indicate a glide after /u/, as mentioned above, and to indicate the /w/ phoneme which in Mycenaean is preserved and has a very wide distribution. In this second case *-u-* is a 'dummy' vowel and the sequence may be read /Cw/, with no glide (cf. e.g. *ke-se-nu-wo* /ksenwos/ 'guest').[161] It is also possible to have an etymological /w/ after a *-u-*

[161] ***-du-wV-*** e.g. *du-wo-jo* PY Jn 750.12 (Hand 2); *du-wo-jo-jo* PY An 656.11 (Hand 1), Vn 34.9 (Class iii); *du-wo-u-pi* PY Eb 495.1 (Hand 41), Ep 613.1+ (Hand 1); *du-wo-u-pi-de* PY Eb 149.2 (Hand 41); *ko-ro-dụ-wo* and]*mą-si-du-wo* may reflect a suffix -δϝον cf. Corinthian Χελιδϝōν 'swallow' LEJEUNE 1958a, 263, rejected by BEBKES 2010.

-tu-wV- e.g. perfect participle (suffix *-wos-*) *ke-ke-tu-wo-e* PY An 261.1 (Hand 1);?? *tu-wi-no* KN Ga(1) 517.b (Hand 135), MN; gen. *tu-wi-no-no* KN Ga(1) 676.b (Hand 135); *ma-ra-tu-wo* MY Ge 602.2+ (Hand 57) /marat^{h}won/ 'fennel'.

-nu-wV- e.g. adjectives in -/nwos/ *ke-se-nu-wo* 'guest', *pe-ru-si-nu-wo* 'of the previous year'. Also *a-nu-wa* PY An 207.10 (Hand 43), place-name poss. with *-wa* suffix, and *a-nu-wa-to* KN Ap 639.14 (Hand 103), obscure WN, perhaps hide a sequence /nw/; *a-nu-wi-ko* KN As(2) 1516.2 (Hand 101); Ws <8754>.γ, MN in -ισκος?, could be related. Another case is]*nu-we-jo* KN L 651.2 (Hand 103), if restored as *sa-pi-ti-*]*nu-we-jo*, cf. *sa-pi-ti-ne-we-jo* F 841.4 and *sa-pi-ti-nu-wo* As 1516.15 (Hand 101).

nu-wa-i-ja KN L(7) 592 (Hand 211?), L(2) 5910.1 (Hand 103) and '*nu-wa-ja*' KN L(2) 647.A.B (Hand 103), are an obscure description of garments (*pa-we-a*) and could be linked with a zero-grade of **sneh$_1$-u-* 'sewn'?, but it is not clear whether in that case we would be dealing with /(s)nw-V-/ or /(s)nu^{w}V-/.

-ru-wV- e.g. perfect participle (suffix *-wos-*) *a-ra-ru-wo-a* KN Ra(1) 1541+ (Hand 126);]*ą-ra-ru-wo-ja* KN Sd 4408.a (Hand 128) /arar-woh-a/ 'fitted';]*pu-ru-wa* KN L 5561.1 /purwa/ 'red' cf. *pu-wo* KN As(2) 1516.10 (Hand 101), C(4) 912.2 (Hand 111); MY Ge 603.7 (Hand 59) and *pu-wi-no* PY Cn 131.14+ (Hand 1).

which indicates an actually pronounced etymological /u/ vowel; this normally happens at morphemic boundary e.g. after a proclitic element (as in *o-u-wo-ze*) or in composition.[162]

The very frequent /-wont-/ suffix used to form PNs also has an etymological /w/ and may be added to a stem ending in a consonant or in a vowel (including /u/), yielding a termination /-Vwont-/ (as in *mu-to-wo-ti* /Murtowonti/) or /-Cwont-/ (as in a_2*-ru-wo-te* /Halwontei/).[163]

The spelling is often ambiguous and with this suffix the decision whether to treat the preceding vowel as a 'dummy' vowel or not may depend on our interpretation of the word.

Absolute certainty is not possible but in the following categories it is likely or possible that we have instances of a *w*-glide as contrasted with etymological /w/:

A) Oblique cases of stems ending in /-us/. We cannot always distinguish between /ūs/, which would yield an /-ū^{w}os/ genitive, and /-us/, which in some instances could yield a /-Cwos genitive with /u/ becoming consonantal.[164]

-ku-wV- Possibly e.g. *ku-wa-ta* KN B(5) 5172.2 (Hand 104); Ws <8754>.β MN /Kwāstās/, if we can compare MN *qa-ti-ja*; *i-ku-wo-i-pi* KN V(2) 280.15 (Hand 124)??/(h)ikwoihip^{h}i/, if we compare *i-qo* 'horse.

[162] *o-u-wo-ze* PY Ep 704.7 (Hand 1) /ou-wordzei/ '(s)he does not work (on it)', cf. *o-wo-ze* PY Eb 338.B (Hand 41); *de-ku-tu-wo-ḳọ*[PY Un 1322.3 (Class ii) /deiktu-worgos/ 'net maker'.

[163] a_2*-pa-tu-wo-te* PY Cn 599.3-5,.7 (Hands 1-21), obscure; a_2*-ru-wo-te* PY An 657.8 (Hand 1) /Halwontei/, cf. Ἁλοῦς 'saltworks'; *e-ri-no-wo-te* PY Cn 4.5 (Hand 21) /Erinowontei/, Ἐρινοῦς cf. ἐρινεός 'wild fig-tree'; *e-wi-ku-wo-te* PY Na 604 (Hand 1) /Ewiskwontei/ cf. ἐβίσκος *Althaea officinalis*, although the phytonym is thought to be a borrowing from Lat. *hibiscus*; *mu-to-wo-ti* PY Eb 495 *lat. sup.* (Hand 41) /Murtowonti/, cf. μύρτος 'myrtle'; *ne-do-ṿọ-te* PY Cn 4.6 (Hand 21) /Nedwontei/; *pe-re-wo-te* PY Na 513+ (Hand 1) /P^{h}leiwontei/, Φλειοῦς cf. φλέως 'reed'; sa-ri-nu-wo-te PY An 424.2 (Hand 3), Mn 456.9 (Hand 2), Na 544 (Hand 1) /salīn-/ cf. σέλῑνον 'celery', *se-ri-no-wo-te* PY Qa 1290, cf. Σελινοῦς, -οῦντος;]*se-wo-te* PY An 233.4 (Hand 3), obscure; *si-jo-wo-te* PY Cn 4.10 (Hand 21) /Si̯owontei/, cf. σῖον 'water parsnip'; *so-wo-te* PY Na 384 (Hand 1), obscure;]*te-ru-wo-te* KN C(2) 922 (Hand 112), if a PN (but could be the dat. of a PN used as a MN if we restore *pa-ro* before it).

[164] **Genitive** in /-os/ *sa-pa-nu-wo* KN X 999 (month's name?) /Sp^{h}anu^{w}os/?; *me-tu-wo* /met^{h}u^{w}os/ PY Fr 1202 'wine'; *e-te-wa-tu-wo* KN C(4) 912.5 (Hand 111) MN /Ete-wastu^{w}os/; *su-pu-wo* KN C(4) 912*v*.1 /Supu^{w}os/ cf. thematized *su-po* KN Dc 5812.b (Hand 117); *ko-tu-wo* PY Eq 213.4 (Hand 1), PN /Gortu^{w}os/.

Dative in -/ei/ *ka-ru-we-* PY Ta 721.1 (Hand 2) /karu^{w}ei/ 'nut'; *pa-ra-ku-we* PY Ta 714.1+ (Hand 2); derivative *pa-ra-ku̯-we-jo* KN Sp 4451.b, cf. also]*ku-we-jo* KN X 8104?/^{m}baraku-^{w}ei/ 'smaragd'; *e-ri-nu-we* KN V 52 *lat. inf.* GN /Erinū^{w}ei/; *ko-ru-we* TH Av 101.5 (Hand 304), Fq(1) 117.2+ (Hand 305), MN; derivative?]*ko-ru-we-ja* KN L(6) 472 (Hand 210), cf.]*ru̯-we-ja* KN X 7710 /Skollu^{w}ei/; *no-nu-we* KN Od 562.1 (Hand 103) and poss. Od 5558 WN; **56-ru-we* TH Fq 205.4 (Hand 307), Gp(1) 110.2+ (Hand 306)??/^{m}B$^{(h)}$allu^{w}ei/ MN; PNs: *ko-tu-we* PY An 233.3 (Hand 3), 615.16, Na 908 (Hand 1) /Gortu^{w}ei/; *si-ja-du-we* KN Am(2) 821.2, Dk(1) 969.A (Hand 120??); Dl(1) 930.B+ (Hand 118); possible derivative]*du-wi-ja* KN Ak(3) 830.1 (Hand 102) /Si̯adu^{w}ei/; *ta-u-pa-du-we* KN E 843.4 (Hand 102); *te-tu-ru-we* PY Na 1054.B and Nn 228.7 (Hand 1)?/Tet^{h}ru^{w}ei/ cf. *te-ta-ra-ne* An 610.9 /Tet^{h}rānes/; *o-du-ru-we* KN C 902.6 (Hand 201) (cf. poss. *o-du-we* KN Od[1] 696.1 [Hand 103]); *o-*]*du-ru-wo*

B) MNs formed with an /u^{w}ōn/ suffix.[165]

C) Several types of compounds.[166] A glide is clear in compounds with a second element built on the **ok^{w}-* root 'eye, face, see' (as contrasted with **wok^{w}-* 'voice').[167] A glide also appears in possible alternative spelling for *ou°* before a second member beginning with vowel.

eu° 'well, good' before a second member beginning with a vowel usually written with a glide (but alternative spelling as *e-w…* occurs also, cf. *e-we-pe-se-so-me-na* MY Oe 127 [Hand 55]).[168]

D) Vocabulary words.[169]

In a few cases the absence of an expected *w*-glide may point to an aspiration. Cf. the possessive compounds with a /Polu/° first element like *po-ru-e-ro* PY

KN Co 910.1 (Hand 107) (cf. also *u-du-ru-wo*); derivatives *o-du-ru-wi-ja* KN Ai(3) 982.1 (Hand 204); *o-du-ru-wi-jo* KN C 902.2 (Hand 201) /Odrus/, /Odru^{w}es/ or /Odru^{w}ei/, /Odru^{w}i^{i}-/.

165 *a-ku-wo* KN U(1) 109 (Hand 124-P) MN, nom. /Alku^{w}ōn/.
a-re-ka-ṭu[-]*ṛu-wo* KN Sc 256*v*. (Hand 124-I) /Alektru^{w}ōn/; *a-ku-tu-ru-wo*[KN Fh 364.a (Hand 141?) nom. /Al(e)ktru^{w}ōn/; *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* PY An 654.8+ (Hand 1), Es 650.2 (Hand 11) /Alektru^{w}ōn/; *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-no* gen. PY Es 644.2 (Hand 1); *a-re-ku-tu-ru-ṇo-ne* > *a-re-ku-tu-ru-*<*wo*>*-ne* dat. PY Es 649.1 (Hand 1).
na-su-ṿo KN B(5) 799*v*.5 (Hand 104) MN,??/Nāsu^{w}ōn/.
pi-ri-ụ-wo KN B(5) 803.2 (Hand 104) MN,??/Prihu^{w}ōn/.
also *da-nu-wo* KN C 902.3+ (Hand 201); *di-ki-nu-wo* KN Dv 1502 (Hand 117);]*-ma-ki-nu-wo* KN Np(2) 858 (Hand 134); *pi-ki-nu-wo* KN Da 5217 (Hand 117), PY Cn 441.4 (Hand 1); *ti-mi-ṇu-ṿo*[KN Ga(2) <34>.1 (Hand 136?); *sa-pi-ti-nu-wo* KN As(2) 1516.15 (Hand 101).

166 *e-u-ru-wo-ta* PY Eb 156.1 (Hand 41), Ep 613.9 (Hand 1), Jn 310.4 (Hand 2) MN compound in *euru°*; second member obscure, perhaps *-oitās* /Euru^{w}oitās/ cf. μεγάλ-οιτος, Ἀλκοίτᾱς.
i-su-ku-wo-do-to KN Fh 348.1 (Hand 141) MN /Isk^{h}u^{w}o-dotos/.
po-ru-we-wo PY Sa 796 (Hand 26), MN in the gen., probably hypocoristic of a compound name in /Polu°/.
ri-ḳụ-we PY Jn 692.6+ (Hand 2) MN, nom.; a parallel with *ko-ma-we* would allow us to posit a compound in *-went-*; if so, the first member could be λίξ (*Mémoires* I, 264 n. 40), /Ligwens/.
ru-we-ta PY Cn 599.4 (Hand 21), MN in the dat., poss. a compound name in °εστᾱς and the first member could be related to **srew-*, cf. ῥυ-δόν, ῥύ-γην. If so, /R^{h}u^{w}estās/ 'Glutton' involves a glide.
wa-tu-wa-o-ko PY An 519.3 (Hand 1) MN /Wastuwāhok^{h}os/.

167]*ḍụ-ru-wo-qo* PY Un 853*v*.1 (Hand 6) /Dru^{w}-ok^{w}s/.
u-wo-qe-ne KN V(2) 145.2 (Hand 124-F); variant? *u-wo-qe-we* KN C 902.6 (Hand 201): prefix *u°*? /u^{w}-ok^{w}-/.
wa-ru-wo-qo KN As(2) 1516.23 (Hand 101) MN /Walu^{w}-ok^{w}s/ or /Waru^{w}-ok^{w}s/.

168 *e-u-wa-ko-ro* PY Jn 431.23 (Hand 2) /Eu^{w}agros/ (vs MN *e-wa-ko-ro* KN V[5] 1005.A [Hand 125]); *e-u-wa-re* PY Jn 693.2 (Hand 2) /Eu^{w}arēs/ (vs *e-wa-ṛẹ*[KN X 7573; *e-wa*[KN Xd 9127 [Hand 124-R], fragmentary form which can also be related to MN *e-wa-ra-jo* KN Db 1367.B [Hand 117] /Eu^{w}arai^{i}os/).
e-u-we-to PY Jn 750.9 (Hand 2); gen. *e-u-we-to-ro* PY Jn 750.13 (Hand 2), MN /Eu^{w}ētōr/ cf. μεγαλ-ήτωρ 'magnanimous'; the absence of the alternative spelling could favour the presence of an initial /w/ in the second member, but a *w*-glide is a fixed and regular usage of Hand 2 after *eu°*.

169 *ku-wa-no* PY Ta 642.1+ (Hand 2) /ku^{w}anos/ 'blue glass paste', cf. κύανος and related terms: adjective *ku-wa-ni-jo-* PY Ta 714.3 (in same Hand) /ku^{w}ani^{i}os/; compound *ku-wa-no-wo-ko-i* MY Oi 701.7 (Hand 63), 702.4+ (Hand 64) /ku^{w}ano-worgoihi/.

Jn 658.9 (Hand 21) MN /Polu-helos/.[170] The fragmentary]*po-ru-o*[KN X 5952.a, may belong here and be restored as a MN]*po-ru-o*[-*mo* /Poluhormos/, cf. *e-u-o-mo*[KN Vc(1) 127 (Hand 124-s) /Euhormos/ Εὔορμος *LGPN* III.B, 163 (although]*po-ru-o*[-*wo*, cf. MN *po-*]*ṛu-o-wo* Sc 130 [Hand 124-8], cannot be excluded). Another example of internal aspiration indicated by the lack of glide may be *wa-tu-o-ko* MN PY Ea 136 (Hand 43) /Wastu-hok^{h}os/; the MN *wa-tu-o* PY Vn 865.4 (Class i) looks like an abbreviated name with the same origin.

E) Miscellaneous.[171]

§17.3.4.2.11. *Word-Division*[172]

As was noted in §17.2.3, accented words are generally divided in the text by a small vertical stroke, usually called a 'divider' and transliterated as a comma (,) in the editions. In some cases, word division is achieved leaving a space between contiguous words (though sometimes this is hardly perceptible, thus *pa-se-ri-jo ko-wo* MY Oe 121.2 [Hand 56] and not *pa-se-ri-jo-ko-wo*) or changing the size of the signs or combining several of these strategies.

Graphic univerbation

The omission of a divider could be due to careless or repetitive writing and in this case it is linguistically not significant.

Thus Hand 123 at Knossos wrote three times *e-ke-pu-te-ri-ja* Uf(3) 981.b, 1022.b and only once *e-ke, pu-te-ri-ja* /hek^{h}ei p^{h}uteli^{j}ān/ KN Uf(3) 1031.b. In Uf 835.b (which is poss. in the same Hand) we find *e-ke, ti-ri-to, pu-te*, perhaps for *pu-te*<-*ri-ja*>.

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tu-wo PY Un 219.1 (Hand 15) neuter /t^{h}u^{w}os/, cf. *tu-wo-te-to* TH Fq(1) 126.1 (Hand 305); plur. *tu-we-a* PY Un 267.3 (Hand 1); derivative *tu-we-ta* MN PY Un 267.2 (Hand 1) MN /T^{h}u^{w}estās/.

170 The MN *o-ru-we-ro* PY Jn 725.6 could be another (wrong?, aural?) spelling for the same name.

171 *a-pu-wa* TH Fq(2) 229.3+ (Hand 305) MN in dat. /Ăpu^{w}āi/, perhaps abbreviated name from an /Ăpu°/ compound, cf. ἠπότᾰ, Ἠπυτίδης, βρι-ήπυος.
ru-wa-ni-jo KN X 7706.B, MN, could have the same structure as *u-wa-mi-ja* /Ru^{w}ani^{j}os/ or /Lu^{w}ani^{j}os/ ("The Luwian" *per* WIDMER 2007), although an initial /rwV/ cannot be excluded (could *ra-ṿą-ṇi-jo* KN C 911.8 [Hand 111] be an alternative spelling?).
tu-ru-we-u PY An 261*v*.2 (Hand 43), nom., Cn 254.1 (Hand 21) loc. *pro dativo*, MN from ethnic adjective /T^{h}ru^{w}ēus/, cf. Θρύον, Θρυόεσσα, θρύον 'reed, rush'.
u-wa-mi-ja PY Eb 416.1 (Hand 41), Ep 704.2 (Hand 1), WN (*te-o-jo do-e-ra*) /Hu^{w}ami^{j}ā/ built on */Huam-s/, cf. Ὑάμπολις. The MN *u-wa-ta* KN Dd 1286.B (Hand 117); PY Jn 605.4 (Hand 2) /Hu^{w}antās/ is related; derivative MN *u-wa-si-jo* KN Ai(1) 115 (Hand 124-B), Vc(1) 7529 (Hand 124-s) /Hu^{w}ansi^{j}os/; *u-wa-si* PY An 656.15 (Hand 1) /Hu^{w}ansi/, cf. Ὑαντες < *Huan-tes? Similar instances of a *w*-glide before vowel are *o-ku-su-wa-si* MY Ue 652.1, possible PN, *tu-wa-si* PY Fn 41.15 (Hand 45), description of personnel, dat. plur.

172 A complete survey of this subject is given in DUHOUX 1999.

In PY Tn 316.*v*.5 (Hand 44) the usual formula *do-ra-qe, pe-re, po-re-na-qe, a-ke* /dōra kʷe pʰerei pʰorēna kʷe agei/ ('carries gifts and leads a bearer [?]') of the tablet (*passim*) occurs with an undivided sequence *pe-re-po-re-na-qe* ('carries [gifts] and [leads] a bearer'). The dividers were therefore omitted inadvertently. The same is true on PY Eo 276.8 (Hand 41), where no divider was written between *do-e-ro* and *e-ke-qe* in contrast with lines .3-7, or between *pa-ro* and *ru-*83-e* on lines 3 and 7.

In PY Aq 64.2.5.15, Hand 21 writes *to-to, we-to* /totto(d) wetos/ 'this year', but *to-to-we-to* on lines .6.7.13.16.

The case of *to-sa-pe-mo* TI Ef 2 is different, since the different *ductus* of the two words implies that *to-sa* was added to *pe-mo* as an afterthought.

A clear instance of careless writing is tablet PY Un 1321 (Hand 34): it shows *o-ra-qe-ṭe*[on line 1, *to-sa-ka-pa-ra* on line 2, where *to-sa ka-pa-ra* was probably intended, although there is no significant spacing between the two forms and it could well be a single word; *o-pa-ro-ze* on line 4 is obscure (*-pa-ro-ze* is over an erasure and the signs were written at large intervals).

In other cases, the omission of dividers is significant. Thus, PROCLITICS and ENCLITICS are not graphically separated from their accompanying, accented word, since in Mycenaean writing the word is an accentual unit:

Proclitics

A) The negative adverb *o-u-* (and *o-u-ki-*) is as a rule joined to:

A following verbal form as *o-u-di-do-si* /ou didonsi/ 'they are not giving' PY Ma 90.2+ (Hand 2), Na 69.A.B+ (Hand 1), *o-u-di-do-to* /ou didontoi/ 'they are not given' PY Ng 319.2+ (Hand 1), *o-u-wo-ze* /ou wordzei/ 'X does not work on it' PY Ep 704.7 (Hand 1), mistakenly written *o-wo-ze* in PY Eb 338.B (Hand 41).
A following noun as *o-u-ki-te-mi* /ouki termis/ or /oukʰi termis/ KN V(2) 280.5 (Hand 124) vs *o-u-te-mi* /ou termis/ 'no border', four times in the same record (lines .11-14).
Another unaccented particle (enclitic) as in *o-u-qe* /ou kʷe/ 'and not' KN Sd 4402.a+ (Hand 128); PY Aq 64.3+ (Hand 21), Eb 149.1 (Hand 41), Ep 539.7+ (Stylus 74 of Hand 1), Va 15.1 (Class ii).

B) In headings the modal adverb *o-/jo-* /hō(s)/ 'thus' is joined to (references in Aura's *Indices sub vv.*):

A noun or adjective as in *o-a-pu-ḍọ*[*-si*[173] /hō(s) apudo(sis)/ at Knossos in the label Wb 8711.1 or *o-za-mi*[*-jo* PY An 37.1 (Hand 1) /hō(s) dzami(ʲ)oi)/ at Pylos and *o-u-te-ra* MY Ui 2.2 /hō(s)[174] husterā (*scil.* apudosis)/ at Mycenae.
A name; at Knossos *o-a-po-te* /hō(s) A./ KN Le 641.1 (Hand 103) and *o-mu-ka-ra* /hō(s) M./ KN Od 666 *lat. sup.* (Hand 115) (?) may include a MN and *jo-a-mi-ni-so-de* /hō(s) Amnisonde/ KN Og(2) <4467>.1 includes a PN in the allative.

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[173] A sequence of particle plus finite verbal form *o-a-pu-ḍọ*[*-ke* /hô(s) apudô(ke)/ "Thus X. received' is also possible and perhaps more likely.

[174] PIE **ŭd-* apparently does not show *Ablaut*, cf. *CEG* 2, 1997, 175 (entry by PERPILLOU), but DUHOUX (*per litteras*) suggests an *o*-grade suffixed form /outera/ < **owd-tera* on the basis of an alleged *e*-grade attested in Cypriot εὐ-τρόσσεσθαι· ἐπι-στρέφεσθαι.

In all the examples quoted above *jo-/o-* occurs at the start of the clause. At Pylos an isolated form *to-so-jo*, used exclusively by Hand 24 (Er 312.2.8), could be interpreted as /tosson/ 'so much (seed)' followed by the modal adverb /hō/.[175] The alternative form *o-* may also occur in this usage: *to-so-o* in KN Od 666.a (Hand 115) is perhaps not to be read as *to-so o<pe-ro>*, and in PY Xa 1342.1 (Class iii) *to-so-o*, which significantly occurs in the record's heading, is possibly to be interpreted as /Tosson hō(s)/.

Enclitics

A) The connective *-qe* was mentioned above a propos of *o-u-qe* 'and not' and references have already been given.

It appears often in records from every site, in forms such as e.g. *a-di-ri-ja-pi-qe* /andri^{j}ämp^{h}i k^{w}e/ 'and with figurines' PY Ta 708.2 (Hand 2), *a-di-ri-ja-te-qe* /andri^{j}antei k^{w}e/ 'and with a figurine' PY Ta 707.2 (Hand 2), *a-ke-qe* /agei k^{w}e/ 'and leads' PY Tn 316*v*.1 (Hand 44), etc. For a complete collection of instances see Aura's *Indices sub* -QE.

B) The adversative particle *-de* /-de/ as a rule is joined to the preceding word.

We can quote such forms like e.g. *a-ne-ta-de* /arnēta de/ 'but refused' PY Ma 393.2 (Hand 2), *du-wo-u-pi-de* /dwoup^{h}i de/ 'but in two' PY Eb 149.2 (Hand 41), etc. For a complete collection of instances see Aura's *Indices sub* -DE 1, -DE-.
This particle can also be joined to the anaphoric pronoun *-mi* (also a clitic) as in PY Ep 704.5: *da-mo-de-mi* /dāmos de min/ 'but the village – claims – that she…' (Hand 1) or in Na 926.a: *e-ke-de-mi* /hek^{h}ei de min/ (Hand 1) 'but A. has it'.

C) The allative particle *-de* /-de/ placed after the accusative of a word which indicates a place is joined to it.

We may quote forms like e.g. *a-ka-ta-ra-te-so-de* ??/Aktrat^{h}esonde/ KN Fp(2) 5504 (Hand 222?), *a-ka-wi-ja-de* /Ak^{h}aiwi^{j}ände/ KN C(2) 914.B (Hand 112), *a-ke-re-wa-de* /Agrēwwande/ PY Vn 20.8 (Hand 25), etc. See for the full list Aura's *Indices sub* -DE 2.

D) Monosyllables are also joined in writing to an adjacent word (perhaps to prevent confusion with logograms; an alternative strategy is based on vocalic reduplication, cf. *qo-o* in PY Cn 3.2 for the monosyllabic /g^{w}ōns/). We could see them as a kind of 'graphic enclitics'.

Thus *to-so-pa* /tossos pans/ 'So much (bronze) in total' PY Ja 749, Jn 601.9 (Hand 2), or /tosson pan(t)/ 'So much (grain) in total' TH Ft 140.8 (Hand 312), and poss. KN Xd 7730.2 (Hand 124). The totalling formula is written as a single word in the singular but as two words in the plural: *to-so pa-te* /tossoi pantes/ 'So many (people) in total' KN B 1055.9 (Hand 102?). Another case could be *mi-to-we-sa-e* KN Sd 4404.b (Hand 128) vs *mi-to-we-sa* /miltowessa/ 'painted ochre' Sd 4407.b+ (Hand 128), which, if it is not a mistake, may include an adverbial /en/ 'inside'.

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[175] This interpretation differs from the *communis opinio* which sees *to-so-jo* as the gen. of value /tossoi^{j}o/, see DUHOUX 2008, §9.31.

Omission of word divider in formulae

In the religious sphere references to the Mistress, *po-ti-ni-ja* /potni^{j}a/, are often preceded by another word (probably in the genitive) without a word divider. Some sequences may look like compounds but in fact we are dealing with juxtapositions and the divider can be omitted:

a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja	/At^{h}ānās potni^{j}āi/ 'to the Mistress of A.' KN V 52.1;
e-re-wi-jo-po-ti-ni-ja	/Helēwi^{j}ōn potni^{j}āi/ 'to the Mistress of H.' PY Vn 48.3 (Class i);
si-to-po-ti-ni-ja	/Sitōn potni^{j}āi/ 'to the Mistress of Grains' MY Oi 701.3 (Hand 63);
u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja	/Huboi^{j}o (?) potni^{j}āi/ 'to the Mistress of H.' PY Fn 187.8 (Hand 2).

At Knossos the practice is extended to cult personnel: thus *a-ne-mo, i-je-re-ja* /Anemōn Hi^{j}erei^{j}āi/ 'to the Priestess of Winds' occurs in Fp(1) 1.10 (Hand 138) with both a divider and a change in the size of the signs, but is written without a divider on KN Fp(1) 13.3 *a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja* (same Hand).[176]

The formulaic character of juxtapositions[177] is clear in *pa-si-te-o-i* /pansi t^{h}ehoihi/ 'to All Gods' KN Fp(1) 1.5.7+ (Hand 138), Ga 953.3a (Hand 219), Gg(1) 702.1+ (Hand 103), Gg(3) 705.2+ (Hand 140). There are no instances of this formula having an intervening divider.

In the bureaucratic sphere, a formula for the total occurs at Knossos: *to-so-ku-su-pa* /tosson ksumpan(t)/ 'So much in total' Fh 367 (Hand 141); cf. perhaps *to-so-ḳụ*[TH Fq 236.8 (Hand 310). It might be seen as an extension of the *to-so-pa* univerbation.

Though bureaucratic, a case apart is the distributive formula *we-te-i-we-te-i* /wetehi wetehi/ 'year after year', 'every year' PY Es 644.1-13 (Hand 1), similar to Skt. *varṣe-varṣe*.

Omission of word divider in prepositional phrases

There is a number of prepositional phrases where the divider is omitted and which could be continued in later Greek by hypostatic compounds:

e-pi-ke-re	/epi k^{h}errei/ 'at hand, available' KN F(2) 851.1a, of harvest (*a-ma*), cf. later ἐπίχειρα.
o-pi-e-de-i	/opi Hedehi/ 'at the Seat' PY An 1281.2 (Hand 12), cf. later ἑπεσχάριος 'on the hearth'. The gloss ἐφεδές· ἐπίπεδον, ταπεινόν, χαμαί (Hesych.) could be the hypostatic compound adjective.

[176] A clear example of juxtaposition is PY Eq 146.11 *i-qo-na-to-mo* /ikwōn art^{h}mos/ 'team? of horses'. It is not certain that the word belonged to the cult sphere, though it could be so.

[177] This trend to univerbation of some formulae or phrases explains the absence of divider in some local designations and will be not discussed here.

o-pi-me-ne /opi mēnnei/ 'monthly' PY An 7.7+ (Hand 3), cf. later ἐπιμήνιος.

u-po-o-pa /hupo hopāi/ better than /hupo hopās/ 'under *o-pa*-obligation' TH Oq 434.5.6 (classified as Uq by the editors), a new tablet which records a distribution of hides to different people. The people may be perhaps described in the heading as 'Theban hollowers' (*pa-ro, te-qa-jo*[-*i ko-*]*ṿi-re-u-pi* /paro $T^{h}ēg^{w}a^{i̯}$oi[hi koi]wilēup^{h}i/), perhaps makers of leather containers (cf. the *ko-wi-ro-wo-ko* of KN B 101.1, Hand 124). Two men among these are said to be 'under *o-pa*-obligation'. Cf. later ὑπόχρεος.

The practice could be extended to personal names, thus:

-pa-ro-te-wa-ro MY Oe 111.5 (Hand 51) (*o-ta-pa-ro-te-wa-ro*) for /paro T./ (with a preceding participle /onta/?), or *pa-ro-na-me*[PY Mb 1379 (Hand 14) for /paro N./ Clear instances are also found in the textile sphere *o-pi-qi-na* KN Ld(1) 584.1 (Hand 116) /opi Q./ and *o-pi-si-ri-ja-we* KN Lc 646.A, L 8105.a (Hand 103) /opi S./. *ku-su-a-ta-o* KN L 698.2 could be another instance if read as /ksun A./.

Finally, the new Thebes tablets offer two instances of possible omission of word divider between a noun and a verbal form within an *o-te*-clause. According to the current interpretation, *o-te, tu-wo-te-to* Fq 126.1 (Hand 305) and *o-te, o-je-ke-te-to* Fq 130.1 (same Hand) both include a middle root aorist 3rd person *-te-to* /-t^{h}e(n)to/ 'was/were set up': *tu-wo-* may be seen as /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'burnt sacrifice', but *o-je-ke-* still defies interpretation[178].

Graphic disjunction

In some cases an unexpected divider occurs in the middle of what in later Greek are compound words or even of compounds regularly written in Mycenaean records. This practice, curiously enough, is restricted to the Pylos Ta tablets written by Hand 2. The list is as follows:

a-pi, to-ni-jo Ta 716.1 /amp^{h}it^{h}orni$^{i̯}$ō/, description of *pa-sa-ro* /psallō/ '(two chains) on both sides of the throne', cf. ψαλόν.

a-pu, ke-ka-u-me-no perfect participle /apukekaumenos/ 'burnt away'; the preverb is separated from the verbal form by a divider on Ta 641.1.

e-ne-wo, pe-za /enewopedza/, 'nine-footed', description of tables, occurs once written with a divider on Ta 642.3a, while it is written as a single word *e-ne-wo-pe-za* four times on Ta 713.1.3, 715.1.3. Therefore the divided spelling seems exceptional.[179]

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[178] If it is related to Hom. οἴηκες *Il.* 24.269, the Mycenaean spelling would imply the existence of an old /ē/ in the Homeric-Ionian word; the later forms with /ā/ in Attic would then be secondary and due to a hypercorrection.

[179] As stated by DUHOUX 1999, 230: 'dans la série **Ta**, tout composé de plus de quatre syllabogrammes est séparable'. It should be noticed that *se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-re* Ta 707.2, 714.2 *se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi* 708.2 *po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja* 709.1 are not disjoined.

ke-re-si-jo, we-ke /krēsi̯owergēs, -es/ 'of Cretan workmanship' is always written with a divider on Ta 641.1, 709.3.

pu-ko-so, e-ke-e dual /puksohekʰehe/ '(2 tables) with *e.* of box-wood' is similarly divided on Ta 715.3.

This phenomenon has been explained by T. Palaima[180] as due to the special care for accuracy shown by Hand 2 in the writing of this set of tablets. It is far more likely that we are dealing with the personal practice of a particular scribe.[181]

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§17.3.5. *The logograms: structure and conventions*

§17.3.5.1. Types of logograms

The logogrammatic function is rendered in Linear B by means of several kinds of signs, called logograms, which can be split into several categories:

SUBSTANTIVE SIGNS	ADJECTIVAL SIGNS
iconic	overlapped or integrated
phonetic: abbreviations	independent
non-iconic and non phonetic	

§17.3.5.2. Substantive logograms

Among the substantive signs, ICONIC logograms (pictorial signs often called pictograms) are those representing a word by means of a clear drawing of the object. In NON-ICONIC AND NON PHONETIC logograms, the sign is neither an obvious image of the object (its real referent), nor its phonetic designation. We infer its meaning from its context and/or from the comparison of the sign with the corresponding original source in Hieroglyphic and/or Linear A, where it may still retain a pictographic character. For the Mycenaean users, these non-iconic and non phonetic logograms were merely conventional.

Occasionally, the symbol for a commodity is achieved by linguistic means, using 'sigla', i.e. ligatures or nexuses (in fact, a deliberate combination of several

[180] PALAIMA (forthcoming).

[181] As A. Morpurgo Davies kindly points out to me, this practice may seek to facilitate the understanding of long compounds or of the scribe's own creations. Two further apparent disjunctions can be discarded: *a-no, de-ki-si-wo* PY Cn 254.4 (Hand 21) is probably not an irregular division of a compound, but a double name 'A. The Righthanded'; *ko-to-no- -o-ko* on PY Ep 301.2a, was disjoined because of reasons of space.

Linear B syllabograms written on a vertical axis) of syllabograms representing the word for the item concerned. For instance, cheese pieces are recorded at Pylos by writing the whole name itself (*tu-ro*$_2$ /tūrro-/ 'cheese') followed by a logogram ( ) which is a nexus of the preceding two syllabograms written vertically: *TURO*$_2$. These MONOGRAMS represent the conclusive evidence that the Mycenaean mechanism for recording commodities is of logographic nature: every conglomerate represents the word which it refers to in the scribes' language, with conventions similar to those for the phonetic text and a general usage of writing/reading the conglomerate from the bottom upwards or contrariwise. That practice is widespread among the different centres, based on the available evidence, and their absence in some sites, e.g., at Thebes, might simply be the result of the limited documentation recovered, although different traditions could be also posited (for instance, **247 DIPTE* at Knossos vs **180+DI* at Thebes). The fact that the use of monograms is borrowed from the Linear A script is demonstrated by the case of the nexus LANA, whose transliteration as *MARU* can be explained by glosses probably borrowed from a Pre-Greek language. The following list includes all the known monograms (arrows indicate the direction upwards or downwards of the writing; Ø stands for a mere overlapping[182]):

NUMBER	TRANSLITERATION	DIRECTION	SITE	DOCUMENT(S)
**127*	*KAPO*	↑	PY	Un 249 (?), 267, 592, 616
**128*	*KANAKO*	↑	MY	Ge 608
**133*	*AREPA*	↑	PY	Fr 1198 (?), Un 6, 718, 853, 1177, Wr 1437
**135*	*MERI*	Ø	KN	Fs 2*v*+, Gg, also at KH Gq 5
**156*	*TURO*$_2$	↓	PY	Un 718, 1185
**247*	*DIPTE*	↓	KN	U 8210, X 9740?

Sometimes, a commodity is expressed phonetically, by means of an abbreviation using the initial syllabogram of the word for the commodity (ACROPHONIC LOGOGRAMS). It has the same function as the remaining substantive logograms. *NI* for 'figs', an acrophonic abbreviation for νικύλεον, a Pre-Greek word for 'fig' (whereas the Mycenaean word was /sūkon/, cf. *o-pi-su-ko* 'overseer of figs'), attests that this procedure may also be inherited.

[182] THOMPSON 2012 states two principles to determine the scribal method of composition of every monogram, but I remain sceptical on their existence and/or their bearing on defining the status of the monograms.

§17.3.5.3. Adjectival logograms

Adjectival logograms are those that need the presence of a substantive logogram: they determine and characterize it in various ways, mainly contributing to the correct spelling of their name. Such adjectival logograms can be independently used in another function (either as syllabograms or as substantive logograms) or not, as is the case for the marks which function as sex determinatives and are added to the logograms for animate beings. On the other hand, they can be either integrated (or ligatured) into the drawing of a substantive logogram (in transliteration this fact is represented by +)[183] or written before it (they are then ADJUNCTS, see below).

In several cases the ligatured syllabograms seem not to render the names of the commodities, but hint at the words that qualify the commodity in question:

	**106+TA*	OVIS+*TA*	PY Cn 'sheep in pen (*ta-to-mo*)'.
	**122+A*	OLIV+*A*	KN E, F /agrios/ 'wild (olive)'.
	**122+TI*	OLIV+*TI*	KN E, F; MY Ue /tiʰasos/ 'domestic (olive)'.
	**130+A*	OLE+*A*	KN F; PY Fr /agrion/ 'wild (olive) oil'.
	**130+PA*	OLE+*PA*	PY Fr (alternatives: /spʰakowen[t]/ or OLE[m184]).
	**130+ṢI*	OLE+*ṢI*	PY Fr 1194 (perhaps OLE+*A*).
	**130+WE*	OLE+*WE*	PY Fr; MY Fo? (prob. *we-ja-re-pe* /weʲaleipʰes/ 'suitable for anointing').
	**146+PE*	LINT??+*PE*	KN M 7373 /pekton/ 'carded linen cloth'?
	**162+RI*	TUN+*RI*	KN L 178 (Hand 124-x) 'linen cloth' **ri-to, ri-ta*.
	**166+WE*	**166+WE*	KN Oa; PY La, Ob, Ua, Un?
	**243+TE*	ROTA+*TE*	PY Sa /termidwen(t)/ 'wheels with τερμίδες'.

Finally, the metrical and the numerical systems are logogrammatic by nature as well.[185]

§17.3.5.4. The 'adjuncts'

When a single syllabogram is placed before any logogram, it is usually described as an ADJUNCT: it qualifies or describes logogrammatically the main logogram by means of an acrophonic abbreviation. It represents an administrative device for easier recording. Such a procedure is sporadically attested in the

[183] The use of an overlapping syllabogram allows the reader of the document to choose between a plurality of values of the same matrix and to select the correct interpretation.

[184] MELENA 1983, 116f.

[185] The logogrammatic repertory was used on similar lines as those inherited from Linear A but in an improved way. For a different approach to the subject, cf. PALAIMA 2007.

different sites that have given Mycenaean documents, as the following eight cases from the Mainland demonstrate:

No.	Value	Site	Documents	abbreviated word
**11*	*po*	PY	Fr, Un 616.4	*po-ro-ko-wa*? /prok^{h}owā/ 'disbursing in advance (oil [Fr] or honey [Un 616.4])'.
**45*	*de*	PY	Pa 49	*de-mi-ni-ja* /demni^{j}a/ 'beds'.
**54*	*wa*	PY	Wr 1480.α	*wa-na-ka-te-ro* /wanakteron/ 'royal'.
**70*	*ko*	PY	Un 592.1	*ko-ri-ja-do-no* /kori^{j}adnon/ 'coriander'.
		MY	Ge, Ue 652.3.	
**75*	*we*	TH	Wu 74.α, 78.β?	/wetalon/ 'yearling (goat, sheep)'.
**81*	*ku*	TH	Of	*ku-pi-ri-jo*? /Kupri^{j}on/ 'Cypriot (wool)'?

However, the use of adjuncts clearly seems to have been a frequently used Knossos practice, although many examples are restricted to a limited number of writers such as e.g. Hand 103. The adjuncts at Knossos pervade all the areas of the administrative sphere, abbreviating descriptions, adjectives, professional names, etc. The Knossos repertory can be represented as follows:

No.	Value	Site	Documents	abbreviated word
• Relating personnel:				
**04*	*te*	KN	As(1) 5542.1, 5944.1 (Hand 103)	*te-re-ta*? /tclestās/ 'man of charge'.
**07*	*di*	KN	Ai, Ak, Ap (Hand 103)	*di-da-ka-re* /didaskalei/ 'under instruction'.
**07*	*di*	KN	Bg 817 (Hand 137), Xd 105 (Hand 124–4)	*di-da-ka-re*? /didaskalei/ 'under instruction'.
**11*	*po*	KN	B(3)	*po-ku-ta* /pokurtās/ 'shearer'?
**13*	*me*	KN	Ak(1) (Hand 103)	*me-wi-jo*? /meiwi^{j}os/ 'minor'.
**45*	*de*	KN	Ak(1) (Hand 103)	*de-di-ku-ja* /dedikui^{j}a/ 'assigned'?
**69*	*tu*	KN	Ap (Hand 103)	*tu-ka-te* /t^{h}ugatēr/ 'daughter'.[186]
**70*	*ko*	KN	Ap (Hand 103)	*ko-wa*? /korwā/ 'girl'.
• Textile adjective:				
**03*	*pa*	KN	Ln 1568 (Hand 103) (same as logogram *PA* in KN Xe 7437.2 [Hand 103])	specification for *te-pa*.

[186] This usage sems to be also employed at Thebes, where **65* $^{j}/_{,u}{}^{??}$ in the Fq tablets in Hand 305 probably stands for *u-jo* /hui^{j}os/ 'son'.

No.	Value	Site	Documents	abbreviated word
**11*	*po*	KN	L(5) (Hand 209)	*po-ki-ro-nu-ka*? /poikilōnuk^{h}a/ 'with variegated *o*.' or *po-pu-re-ja*? /porp^{h}ureiʲa/ 'purple'.
**27*	*re*	KN	Lc, L (Hand 103)	*re-u-ko-nu-ka* /leukōnuk^{h}a/ 'with white *o*.'
**38*	*e*	KN	Ln 1568 (Hand 103) (same as logogram *E* in KN Xe7437.2 [Hand 103])	specification for *te-pa* along with *pa*.
**53*	*ri*	KN	Oa 745.2	*ri-ta* (**166+WE*) /līta/ 'of linen'.
**54*	*wa*	KN	Le 654.4 (Hand 103)	*wa-na-ka-te-ra* /wanaktera/ 'royal'.
**70*	*ko*	KN	L 8105 (Hand 103)	*ko-ro-ta*? /klōsta/ 'woven'? or /k^{h}rōsta/ 'dyed'?
**72*	*pe*	KN	Lc(1), Le, Ln 1568, L(2) (Hand 103); Ld(1) in Hand 116?; L(3) in Hands 207, 210; M(1) 1645.2 (Hand 103)	*pe-ko-to* /pekton/ 'carded'.
**73*	*mi*	KN	Le, Ln (Hand 103)	*mi-ja-ro* /miʲaron/ 'stained'.
**161*		KN	Lc, Ld, L, X 7553, 7846.b?	?

• Adjective of time:

For personnel:

**03*	*pa*	KN	Ak (Hand 103), C	*pa-ra-jo* /palaiʲos/ 'of the past year(s)'.
**17*	*za*	KN	Ak (Hand 108)	*za-we-te-ro* /ʃaweteros/ 'of this year'.
**24*	*ne*	KN	Ak (Hands 102, 103), Ap (Hand 103)	*ne-wo* /newos/ 'new' (= 'of this year').
**72*	*pe*	KN	Ak (Hands 102, 108)	*pe-ru-si-nu-wo* /perusinwos/ 'of the past year'.
**85*	*au*	KN	Ak(2) 617.1 (Hand 108)	**au-to-we-te* /autowetēs/ '(to be incorporated) within the year'?? cf. *au-u-te* KN Od 666.a /au<to>-utēs/, eventually adapted to αὐετής, cf. /perusinwos/ from */per-ut-i-m-wos/, Vine 2009b.

For livestock (same transliterations and meanings as above):

**03*	*pa*	KN	Da, Db, Dc, Dd, Df, Dg, Dq, Dv (Hand 117), U 7063.3	*pa-ra-jo*.

No.	Value	Site	Documents	abbreviated word
**17*	*za*	KN	Do (Hand 106)	*za-we-te-ro.*
**24*	*ne*	KN	Ch, Dh, Dk, Dn, Dp	*ne-wo.*
**67*	*ki*	KN	C	χίμαρος 'one winter old (goat)'?
**72*	*pe*	KN	Dc, Dd, Df, Dg, Dh, Do, Dv (Hand 117)	*pe-ru-si-nu-wo.*
• Livestock, cattle:				
**09*	*se*	KN	Do (Hand 106)	*se-to-i-ja*, pasture place.
**14*	*ḍọ*	KN	D 8174.1 (or *ḳọ*: see below **70 ko*)	?
**15*	*mo*	KN	C 7067.1	poss. /mona-/ < */^{m}bona-/ 'bison' cf. βόλινθος/μόναπος/βόνασος.
**24*	*ne*	KN	C	perhaps /(s)neuron/ as a description of **170*.
**31*	*sa*	KN	C 394, D 5954, U 7063	*sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* /sp^{h}aktēri^{i}a/ 'suitable for slaughter'.
**43*	a_3	KN	C(2) 913.1 (Hand 112?)	description of CAP^{m}, *a_3*-ka* /aiks/ 'goat'?
**59*	*ta*	KN	C(1) 901 (Hand 107)	*ta-u-ro* /tauros/ 'bull'.
**67*	*ki*	KN	Dh, Dk, Dl, Do, Dv in Hand 117, D	*ki-ri-jo-te* /kri^{i}ontes/ 'becoming rams', cf. κριός.
**75*	*we*	KN	Ch 896 (Hand 110)	*we-ka-ta* /wergatās/ 'plough ox'.
• Adjective of harness artifact **177*:				
**38*	*e*	KN	U 4478 (Hand 202)	/elak^{h}us/ 'small'.
**80*	*ma*	KN	U 4478 (Hand 202)	/makros/ 'big'.
• Agriculture:				
**04*	*te*	KN	Fh 340 (Hand 141)	description of OLE, *te-re-no*? 'soft'?
**58*	*su*	KN	Gv 863	*su-za* /sūʃā/ 'figtree'.
**70*	*ko*	KN	Ga 738.b	*ko-ri-ja-do-no*? /kori^{i}adnon/ 'coriander'.
**72*	*pe*	KN	E 9754.1	*pe-ma* /sperma/ 'seed'.
• *Varia*:				
**01*	*da*	KN	Mc	*da-wa-no*? MN owner of **150*.
**04*	*te*	KN	Wm 8493 (Hand 124)	description of LANA.
**44*	*ke*	KN	K(2) 773 (Hand 224?)	material of vessels **202*^{vas} and **222*^{vas}; **ke-ra-mo*? /keramos/ 'ceramic (container)'.
**54*	*wa*?	KN	U 7768	description of **260*.

ABBREVIATED WORD: *o-pe-ro /op^{h}elos/* 'debt'

A further development of an adjunct can be exemplified by the widespread usage of *o* indicating a 'debt' or 'deficit' towards the Administration: it is clear at once that the entry preceded by *o* records the difference between the targeted quantity and that already received or extant. This adjunct *o* therefore refers to the whole entry, i.e. not only to the logogram but also to the following quantities:

No.	Value	Site	Documents
**61*	*o*	KN	Ce, Da, Dc, Dd, De, Df, Dg, Dk, Dl, Do, Dq, Dv, D, Fh, F, Ga, G, Lc, Ld, L, Mc, Nc, Np, Od, Og, Sg, V(2) 145+
		PY	Ad 671.A+ (Hand 23), Ae 634 (Hand 13), Ma, Pn 30, Un 1185.3, 1319.2: *o* (: *O*) (Class ii), Vn 851*v*.1.2 (Hand 12)

§17.3.5.5. Repertory of Linear B logograms

After a thorough review of all the literature we propose the following list of interpretations for the logograms (and it follows by extension that we would reject those interpretations that have been published but are not listed below). Transliterations followed by ?? are not yet officially endorsed.

§17.3.5.5.1. *Human beings and animals (counted)*

	**01*	*DA*	KN Ak, As, Uf(1); PY Aa, Ab, An, En 609.1, Un 1193; TH Of; TI Ef 2 acrophonic abbreviation for *da-ma* /damar/, plur. *da-ma-te* /damartes/ personal description: 'steward'.
	**59*	*TA*	KN Ak(1-3); PY Aa, Ab; acrophonic abbreviation for **ta-mi-ja* /tamiʲā/ personal description: '(female) steward'.
	**74*	*ZE*	PY on the diptych Aq 64+218; acrophonic abbreviation for **ze-u-ke-u* /ʤeugēus/ 'man of the yoke', cf. ζευγῖται the 3rd class of Athenian citizens after Solon, 'able to keep a team of oxen' (note that *ZE* is used elsewhere for a 'pair', see §17.3.5.5.8, and for an artifact, see below).
𐀁	**100*	VIR	KN Ag, Am, As, Bg, B, D, K, Wn, Ws; PY Ab, Ac, Ad, Ae, An, Aq, Cn, En, Er, Fn, Jn, Tn, Un; KH Ar; MY Au; TH Av; TI Al; iconic: 'man'.
𐀀	**102*	MUL*ier*	KN Ag, Ai, Ak, Am, Ap, Wn; PY Aa, Ab, Ae, An, Tn, Wa; KH X; TH Av; iconic: 'woman'.

**104* CERV*us*
PY Cr;
iconic: 'deer'.

**105* EQU*us*
KN Ca, Sc;
PY Sa, Wp;
iconic: 'horse' (or rather 'equine animal' since it can include also asses in KN Ca 895.2), used as matrix for:

Differentiation by sex[187]:

 **105*^{m} EQU^{m} KN Ca 'stallion';

 **105*^{f} EQU^{f} KN Ca 'mare'.

Differentiation by age:

**11* *PO* KN Ce 7516;
acrophonic abbreviation for *po-ro*, πῶλος 'foal'.

**106* OVIS
KN Ce, C, Dc, Dl, Do, Dq, Dv, D, Uc, Wb;
PY Cn, Un; identical to syllabogram **21 qi*: 'sheep', used as matrix for:

Differentiation by sex:

 **106*^{m} OVIS^{m} KN Ce, Co, C, Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De, Df, Dg, Dh, Dk, Dl, Dm, Dn, Do, Dp, Dq, Dv, D, U, Wb, Wm;
PY Cc, Cn, Ua, Un, Wr; TH Uo, Wu; 'ram' including castrated animals (wethers)[188].

 **106*^{f} OVIS^{f} KN Ce, Co, C, Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De, Df, Dg, Dh, Dk, Dl, Do, Dp, Dq, Dv, D, Mc, U, Wb, Wm;
PY Cn, Ua, Un; TH Wu 'ewe'.

Adjective on livestock management:

 **106+*59* OVIS+*TA* PY Cn 'stabled sheep'; acrophonic abbreviation for *ta-to-mo* /stat^{h}moi/ 'at pen'.

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187 Sex marks could be viewed as superimposed on the matrix sign: *male* is easily identified as *+PA* and *female* could be even interpreted as *+*TI* (any connection with *wo* ~ MUL, *Études*, 386f. and JANDA 1999, is to be avoided), but we ignore the gender adjectives on which these abbreviations are based since the convention goes back to Linear A (where such marks seem to have been used for sexual distinctions in sheep, goat and cattle). KN Ca 895 is clearly a puzzling case of how to verbalize the natural gender of three epicene nouns (*i-qo* /ikwos/, *po-ro* /pōlos/ and *o-no* /onos/) in absence of articles and/or adjectives.

188 THOMPSON 2012 uses the undifferentiation between rams and wethers under OVIS^{m} as an argument in favour of the ideogrammatic character of the sign, since it would refer to two lexemes. Nevertheless, it may be merely a default notation regardless of reproductive details.

Adjective on age:

	**75*	*WE*	KN C 2138.1, Dl(1), D 411; PY Cn 418, Ua 17.2, Un 47.5, 138.3, 1185.4; TH Wu 64.α, 78.β; acrophonic abbreviation for /wetalon/ 'yearling', cf. ἔταλον.

**107* CAP*er* KN Ce, C, Mc; PY Cc, Cn; TH Uo; identical to syllabogram **22 pi_2*[17] cf. μίκλας: 'goat' (if so, acrophonic abbreviation) used as matrix for:

Differentiation by sex:

	**107*[m]	CAP[m]	KN Ce, Co, C, Wb; PY Cc, Cn, Ua, Un, Wr; TH Wu 'billy-goat'.
	**107*[f]	CAP[f]	KN Co, C, D, Mc; PY An, Cc, Cn, Un; TH Wu 'nanny-goat'.

Offspring:

	**107+*38*	CAP+*E*	PY Cn 418.
	**38*	*E*	KN U 5717; PY Wr 1458; acrophonic abbreviation for /er(i)p^{h}os/ 'kid' cf. *e-po*? /erp^{h}os/ syncopated? as in σέρφος· σέριφος.

 **151* CORN*u* KN Mc; iconic: 'horn' (of wild goat).

**108* SUS KN Ce, Co, C, Uc; PY Cc, Un; TH Wu; iconic: 'pig'; identical to the syllabogram **85 au*, used as matrix for:

Differentiation by sex:

	**108*[m]	SUS[m]	KN Co; PY Cn; TH Wu 'boar'.
	**108*[f]	SUS[f]	KN Ce, Co, C; PY Cn, Ua, Un, Wp, Wr; TH Wu 'sow'.
	**108+*41*	SUS+*SI*	PY Cn, Ua, Un; TH Wu; acrophonic abbreviation for *si-a_2-ro* /sihalos/ 'hog', cf. σίαλος.
	**108+*77*	SUS+*KA*	PY Un; acrophonic abbreviation for /kapros/ 'wild boar' cf. κάπρος.

Offspring:

	**70*	*KO*	KN Ce; acrophonic abbreviation for *ko-ro* /k^{h}or'r'os/ < */k^{h}or-yos/ or /k^{h}oir-os/, χοῖρος 'piglet'.

*109 BOS KN Ce, Ch, C, Og(1) 8038;
PY Cn, Un; TI Cb;
identical to the syllabogram *23 *mu*, used as matrix for:

Differentiation by sex:

*109^{m} BOS^{m} KN Ce, Ch, Co, C, Wb;
PY Ua, Un; TH Wu 'bull' including oxen.

 *109^{f} BOS^{f} KN Ce, Co, C;
PY Ua, Un, Wr; TH Wu 'cow'.

*109+*41 BOS+*SI* PY Cn;
acrophonic abbreviation for *si-a$_2$-ro* /sihalos/ 'bullock', cf. σίαλος.

 *170 KN C;
iconic?: 'bundle (of sinew and tendons)?'

§17.3.5.5.2. *Dry commodities measured by volume*

*30 *NI* KN Fs, F(2), Uc 161;
PY Ab, An 35, Fg, Fn 187, Ua 158, Un 2, 47, 616, 1322, 1426;
MY Fu, Ue 611, 652; TI Uh 12;
acrophonic abbreviation for /ni(kuleon)/ 'fig'.

*31 *SA* MY Ge;
an acrophonic abbreviation for *sa-sa-ma* /sāsama/ old collective 'sesame seed', cf. σήσαμον.

*80 *MA* MY Ge;
an acrophonic abbreviation for *ma-ra-tu-wo* /marat^{h}won/ 'fennel', cf. μάραθον.

 *120 GRA*num* KN Ai, E, F, Ws;
PY Ab, An, Ea, Eb, Ed, En, Eo, Ep, Eq, Er, Es, Fg, Ua, Un;
MID Wv; MY Au, Eu, Ue; TH Av, Ev, Ft; TI Ef;
non-iconic: 'wheat', used as matrix for:

 *120+*Q* GRA+*Q* KN E 132.2 (very doubtful).

 *120+*72 GRA+*PE* KN E, F; TH Ft;
acrophonic abbreviation for *pe-ma* /sperma/, σπέρμα 'seed'.

 *121 HORD*eum* KN Am, Fs, F, G;
PY An, Fa, Fn, Ua, Un; MY Fu; TH Fq;
iconic: 'barley'.

 *122 OLIV*a* KN Ap, E, F, Uc;
PY Fn, Ua, Un; MY Ue; TH Ft;
iconic: 'olives', used as matrix for:

(Nominalized) Adjectives:

 *122+*A* OLIV+*A* KN E, F /agrios/, ἄγριος 'wild (olive)'.

			*122+*TI*	OLIV+*TI*	KN E, F; MY Ue /tit^{h}asos/, τι0ασός 'domestic (olive)'.
	*123	AROM*a*	KN Ga; PY Un; MY Ge, Ue; iconic:[189] 'aromatic (seed)', *Idéogrammes* 196ff., used as matrix for:		
			*123+*KO*	AROM+*KO*	MY Ge, cf. the following.
			*70	*KO*	KN F 7542.1, Ga; MY Ge. abbreviation for *ko-ri-ja-do-no* /Korijandron/, 'coriander'
			*123+ CYP	AROM+CYP	KN Ga 517, 518.
	*124	CYP*erus*	KN E, F, Ga, Uc (includes former *125); iconic: 'cyperus', used as matrix for the following:		
			*124+*KU*	CYP+*KU*	KN F; MY Ue.
			*81	*KU*	MY Ge, Ui 709.1; acrophonic abbreviation for *ku-pa-ro*$_{(2)}$ /kuparros/, cf. κύπειρος.
			*124+*O*	CYP+*O*	KN F, G; PY Fa, Ua, Un (in Un 2.3 <CYP+>*O*); TH Gp, Wu; MY Fu, Ue; with a superimposed acrophonic abbreviation for an unidentified word.
			*124+*PA*	CYP+*PA*	PY Un; with a superimposed acrophonic abbreviation for an unidentified word or alternative CYP^{m}?[190]
			*124+*QA*	CYP+*QA*	KN Ga; with a superimposed acrophonic abbreviation for an unidentified word.
	*127	*KAPO*	PY Un 249 (?), 267, 592, 616; monogram for an unidentified aromatic, but cf. κάρφος 'bark', Sacconi 1972, 22ff.		
	*129	FAR*ina*[?]	KN Fs; PY Fn, Un; MY Fu; TH Fq, Gp; identical to the syllabogram *65 $_{z}u$[?]: 'flour' *me-re-u-ro* /meleuron/, cf. ἄλευρον, μάλευρον. Cf. §17.3.4.2.6.		

[189] Most of the iconic logograms were studied in full by F. Vandenabeele and J.-P. Olivier, *Idéogrammes* (here this reference is followed by page numbers).

[190] Melena 1983, 116f.

§17.3.5.5.3. *Liquid commodities measured by volume*

	**43*	A_3	PY Un; acrophonic abbreviation for *a_3-ka-na-jo* /aigānaʲon/ 'curdled goat's milk'?, cf. αἰγανέη (but 'hunting-spear').
	**130*	OLE*um*	KN Fh, Fp, Fs, F, Xd 7259? PY Fr; MID Wv; iconic?: '(olive) oil', used as matrix for:
	**130+A*	OLE+*A*	KN F; PY Fr; surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for an unidentified word, but poss. /agrion/ 'wild'. The alternative interpretation as an acrophonic abbreviation of *a-ro-pa* 'unguent' is not endorsed.
	**130+PA*	OLE+*PA*	PY Fr; surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for an unidentified word or OLE[m] as alternative.[191] The current interpretation of *+PA* as an acrophonic abbreviation of *pa-ko-we* 'sage-scented' is not endorsed.
	**130+SI*	OLE+*SI*	PY Fr 1194; surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for an unidentified word or perhaps OLE+*A*.
	**130+WE*	OLE+*WE*	PY Fr; MY Fo, Wt 713.α; surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for *we-ja-re-pe* /weʲaleipʰes/ 'suitable for anointing'.
	**131*	VIN*um*	KN Fs, Gm, Uc, U; PY An, Gn, Ua, Un, Wr; MY Ue; TH Ft, Gp, Uo; non-iconic (but once iconic for a vine and trellis): 'wine' Possible differentiation, not by duplication (*pace* STANLEY 1982, 577ff.), but by division in two, cf. the Linear A sign:
	**131^a*	VIN^a	PY Un 267.7.
	**131^b*	VIN^b	KN Uc 160.3, PY Un 267.8, 'sweet wine', *de-ṛẹ-u-kọ* /dleukos/ cf. γλεῦκος 'must', cf. γλυκύς 'sweet'.
	**132*	**132*^{VAS}	PY Un; iconic, but perhaps a matrix () plus an unfinished surcharged (), *Idéogrammes* 263f. container for unidentified commodity (perhaps honey), no name.

[191] MELENA 1983, 116f.

𐄁	**133*	*AREPA*	PY Fr 1198 (?), Un 6, 718, 853, 1177, Wr 1437; monogram for /aleip^{h}ar/ 'anointment', cf. Sacconi 1997.
𐄁	**190*		KN Ai 58497, U, Ws; TH Uo, Wu; MY Go, Oi (counted), Ue (counted), Wt (includes former **134* 𐄁); non-iconic: 'salt and brine (when liquid)?'

§17.3.5.5.4. *Weighed commodities*

	**31*	*SA*	KN Nc; acrophonic abbreviation for /sapros/ or /sāptos/ if not from **kyeh$_2$p-* 'fermented'?: flax fibre, perhaps after retting.
	**44*	*KE*	KN Nc 5100 *lat. inf.*; PY Ma; prob. acrophonic abbreviation for flax by-product, κέσκεον 'oakum, tow' cf. Hsch. κεσκίον· στυππεῖον, τὸ ἀποκτένισμα τοῦ λίνου < **kes-* 'comb' (not 'beeswax' *pace* Killen 2008, 445f.).
	**47*	ARG*entum*??	KN X 9907.1, PY Tn (= **141bis* in *Colloquium Paris*) non-iconic: 'silver' cf. Godart 2010, 114.
	**53*	*RI*	PY Ma; Mm 11, Ua 407.A; acrophonic abbreviation for /linon/ or /lita/: flax fibre or linen thread (Killen 2008, 441)?
	**61*	*O*	KN Nc 5100; PY Ma, Mm 11; acrophonic abbreviation perhaps for a flax by-product?[192]
𐄁	**128*	*KANAKO*	MY Ge 608; monogram for /knākos/ 'red safflower'.
𐄁	**140*	AES	KN Gg, K, L, Oa, Og, Sc, Ws; PY Ja, Jn, Tn; non-iconic: 'bronze' (not 'copper').
𐄁	**141*	AUR*um*	KN X 9907.1??; PY Jo, Tn; TI X 17.1 'gold';
𐄁	**142*		KN Mc; iconic for a bundle?: poss. '*agrimi*[193] tendons, sinew'. Not to be confused with **172* (*pace* Killen 2008, 445 'honeycomb').
Special weights			
	**03*	*PA*	TH Of; acrophonic abbreviation for /p^{h}āk^{h}us/ 'cubit' as unit of measurement for LANA (but not as length measure) better than for /pānā/ 'woof'?
	**32*	*QO*	KN U(1) 49; acrophonic abbreviation for an unidentified word or iconic as a second form of CROC?

[192] In PY Ma 216.3 there is an instance of graphic crasis *O-pe-ro*. The identification of the commodity is very elusive. It could be either a fine flax fibre (for making ὀθόναι) or just the contrary (tow or oakum), or even wool grease (οἰσύπη) for lanolin.

[193] The *agrimi* is a typical Cretan goat (*Capra aegagrus creticus*).

	**72*	*PE*	KN Od(3) 1062, 1063; acrophonic abbreviation for /pelekus/ as a unit of measurement for LANA, equivalent to 5 M?
	**144*	CROC*us*	KN C, Np, Og; iconic: 'saffron'. identical to the syllabogram **33 rai*.
	**145*	LANA	KN Dh, Dk, Dl, Dp, Dq, D, Ga 5672.2, Gg, Lc, Ln, Lp, L, M, Od, Wb, Wm, Ws, Xe, X; PY An, La, Un, Xn 1481.2?; MY Oe, Ui, X 508.a?; TH Of, Oh; Tl X 17.1?; monogram inherited from Linear A: 'wool'.

§17.3.5.5.5. *Special accounting for aromatics*

**38*	*E*	MY Ge; acrophonic abbreviation for *e-ne-me-na* 'thread?' as a unit of accounting for *ko(-i)-no* /sk^{h}oinos/ 'sweet rush'? (see below for another view).
**45*	*DE*	MY Ge; acrophonic abbreviation for /desma/ 'bunch of rushes' as a unit of accounting for *ko(-i)-no* /sk^{h}oinos/ 'sweet rush'?
**72*	*PE*	MY Ge; acrophonic abbreviation for πεῖσμα or σπεῖρα 'bundle of mint', as a unit of accounting for *mi-ta* /mint^{h}ă̄/ 'mint'?
**80*	*MA*	KN Ga; acrophonic abbreviation for 'thread of rushes' as a unit of accounting for *ko(-i)-no* /sk^{h}oinos/ 'sweet rush'? cf. μάρη 'hand', μηρύομαι 'wind off'?

§17.3.5.5.6. *Special accounting for land*

**01*	*DA*	KN Uf(1, 2); poss. acrophonic abbreviation for /damar/ in the meaning of 'land plot'.
**03*	*PA*	KN Uf(1, 2); poss. acrophonic abbreviation for /p^{h}ā̄k^{h}us/ 'cubit' as submultiple unit of the former.

§17.3.5.5.7. *Other counted commodities*

Aromatics		
**03*	*PA*	PY Un 1319; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
**04*	*TE*	PY Un 219; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
**10*	*U*	PY Un 219; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?

	**13*	*ME*	PY Un 2, 219, 267, 616, 1177; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
	**25*	*A_2*	PY Un 1319; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
	**38*	*E*	PY Un 219, 1319; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
	**38*	*E*	MY Ge; acrophonic abbreviation for *e-ne-me-na* (one unit counted), a kind of sweet rush (*ko-no* σχοῖνος), /ernēmenā/ 'sprouted', participle of a verb based on εὐερνής 'with good offshoots' etc., cf. Tucker 1990, 57ff?
	**42*	*WO*	PY Un 1319; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
	**44*	*KE*	PY Un 219; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
	**45*	*DE*	MY Ge; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of rush (*ko-no* σχοῖνος) 'sweet rush'?
	**60*	*RA*	PY Un 219; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
	**61*	*O*	PY Un 219, 1185, 1319; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
	**70*	*KO*	PY Un 219; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
	**72*	*PE*	PY Un 219, 1319; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
	**73*	*MI*	MY Ge; acrophonic abbreviation for *mi-ta* /mint^{h}ă/ 'mint'.
	**77*	*KA*	PY Un 47, 219; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
	**80*	*MA*	PY Un 219; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
	**81*	*KU*	PY Un 1319; acrophonic abbreviation for a kind of *tu-wo* /t^{h}u^{w}os/ 'scent'?
𐄷	**135*	*MERI*	KN Fs 2, Gg, also at KH Gq 5; monogram for /meli(t)/ 'honey', counted in containers.
𐄹	**156*	*$TURO_2$*	PY Un 718, 1185; monogram for /tūrro-/ 'cheese'.
𐄺	**157*		PY Un; either a monogram *WEWI*?? or an iconic matrix+*WI*??
𐄻	**171*		KN Ga; PY Aq 64, Un 1414.2?; MY Ge?; TH Wu; iconic?: 'stalks of rushes as fodder'?
𐄼	**247*	*DIPTE*	KN U 8210, X 9740; monogram for /dip^{h}t^{h}ē(ra)/ 'parchment?' (unclear if *-RA* is missing or somehow included in the drawing of *PTE*).

Textile fabrics

*146 LINTeum?? KN M, Nc, Od, Wm;
PY An, Ma, Mb, Mn, Ua, Un; HV Lg 3;
iconic matrix+*WE*, acrophonic abbreviation for *we-a_2-no* /wehanos/ ἑᾶνός: 'linen garment', also used as matrix for:

 *146+PE LINT??+PE KN M 7373;
surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for /pekton/ 'carded'?

Differentiation by number of tassels in fringe (see below):

 *146[2] LINT[2??] KN L, M.

*159 TELA KN Lc, Ld, Le, L, Wb;
PY La, Un;
iconic (upright loom): 'clothing', used as matrix for:
Differentiation by the number of tassels in the fringe[194]:

*159[1]	TELA[1]	KN As, Lc, Ld, Ln, L, Od;
*159[2]	TELA[2]	KN Lc, Ld, L, M;
*159[3]	TELA[3]	KN Lc, Ld, L;
*159[4]	TELA[4]	KN Lc(2) 581, 871.
*159[6]	TELA[6]	KN L 2127.

Distinct pieces of woollen clothing:

 *159+KU TELA+KU KN L;
surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for a word for some kind of garment, *ku(...)*.

 *159+PA TELA+PA KN Ld, L;
PY La, Un; HV Lg 3.3.4?;
surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for *pa-wo* /p^{h}arwos/, plur. *pa-we-a* /p^{h}arweha/ 'woollen cloak'.

 *159[2]+PO TELA[2]+PO TH Lf 139 **po-wo*, **po-we-a*;
surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for **po-wo* /p^{h}orwos/, plur. **po-we-a* /p^{h}orweha/ 'woollen cloak'.

 *159+PU TELA+PU KN L;
PY La, Wr;
surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for *pu-ka-ta-ri-ja* /puktali̯ā/, 'folding'?

194 Such a differentiation is perhaps not significant, but due to scribal idiosyncrasies, cf. Nosch 2012, and could be avoided in future editions.

			*159+TE	TELA+TE	KN Ap, Lc, Le, Ln, L, Ws; PY La, Un; surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for *te-pa* /tepās/ 'rug', cf. τάπης.
			*159³+ZO	TELA³+ZO	KN Lc, L; surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation a word for a kind of garment, *zo(...)*.
	*160	*160TELA??	PY La; iconic, used perhaps as a matrix+*SA* (*SA* in a Linear A shape, without 'pendants', for 'linen'?).		
	*162	TUN*ica*	KN Sc, Xd; iconic: 'linen garment', *Idéogrammes* 18f., used as matrix for:		
			*162+KI	TUN+KI	KN Lc, Ld, L; surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for *ki-to-* /k^{h}itōn/ or /kit^{h}ōn/, plur. *ki-to-ne* 'chiton, tunic', cf. the following:
			*67	KI	KN L 1649, U 5653 (Hand 103?).
			*162+QE	TUN+QE	KN Sc; surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for *qe-ro*$_2$ /sk^{w}ellon/ 'corslet'.
			*162+RI	TUN+RI	KN L 178 (Hand 124-x); surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for an adjective of material **ri-to, ri-ta* /liton, -a/ 'linen'.
	*164	*164TELA??	KN L; iconic: unnamed spotted garment.		
			Differentiation by number of tassels in the fringe:		
			*164¹	*164¹TELA??	KN L 698.1.
	*166	*166	KN Sc 225; PY La; iconic, *Idéogrammes* 150ff. a piece of cloth? recorded sometimes along with **146*, used as matrix for:		
			*166+WE	*166+WE	KN Oa; PY Ob, Ua, Un; surcharged with an acrophonic abbreviation for an unidentified word (or *we-a*$_2$*-no*?[195]).

[195] ROBKIN 1981, 213 rejected any connection with *we-a*$_2$*-no* and proposed instead an adjective *we-a-re-pe*. Although oil was used in linen weaving for obtaining closely woven fabrics, the initial syllable of a noun seems preferable.

Textile fibre

	**13* *ME*	KN V 5113.1; PY Ma, Mm 11; acrophonic abbreviation for a flax by-product (e.g. linen cord or rope, cf. Homeric μήρινθος and μέρμις)?
	**31* *SA*	PY Na, Ng, Nn (weighed at KN); acrophonic abbreviation for probably unspun, retted flax fibre in bales or sheaves of standard volume (as the Egyptian *nwt* or the Assyrian šu^{II}*ša*GADA), and not a talent of lint or linen (*pace* CHADWICK, *World*, 153 and ROBKIN 1979, 469ff.).
	**53* *RI*	KN Nc 5100; acrophonic abbreviation for *ri-no* /linon/ 'flax or linen'.
	**72* *PE*	PY La 630*v*.; acrophonic abbreviation for unknown word?

Hides, skins

	**23* *MU*	KN Fh, Og(1) 8038? acrophonic abbreviation for /^{m}bursā/ 'leather oil-bag'?
	**38* *E*	PY Ub; acrophonic abbreviation for *e-ra-pi-ja* /elap^{h}^{j}ai/ plur. 'deer (hides)'.
	**150* **150*$^{PEL??}$	KN C 5669?, Mc; non-iconic: 'hide of male *agrimi*'.
	**154* PEL*lis*??	PY On, Un; iconic: 'skin', used as matrix[196] for: Distinction by nature and origin:

	**154+WI*	PEL+*WI*??	KN C 5669, U 727, V(6) 865 (formerly **258*) PY Ma, Mm, Wr; TH Oq; matrix+*WI* (formerly **152*), cf. the following:
	**40*	*WI*	PY Un 219.10, Wr 1332.α; acrophonic abbreviation for *wi-ri-no* /wrinon/ '(raw) hide'.
	**154+KO*	PEL+*KO*??	PY Un; TH Uo; matrix+*KO* (formerly **153* PEL-*lis* in the Wingspread Convention), surcharge for *ko-we* < **k̂ōwh$_1$-s*, *ko-wo* /kōwos/ 'sheepskin', cf. κῶας, from **k̂ewh$_1$-*?

	**180* **180*$^{PEL??}$	KN U(1) 172 (Hand 124-9); iconic half-matrix, identical to Linear A: 'parchment'.
	**180+DI*	**180*$^{PEL??}$*+DI* TH Ws half-matrix+*DI*, surcharged abbreviation for *di-pte-ra* /dip^{h}t^{h}ēra/ 'parchment', cf. the following:

[196] Differences in tracings of entire raw hide are due to the individual skill in artistic representation and cannot be used for logogrammatic distinctions.

	**247*	*DIPTE*	KN U 8210.2, X 9740; monogram (see above).

Varia

	**07*	*DI*	PY Ua 1252; acrophonic abbreviation?
	**08*	*A*	MY Ui 651*v*. (only unit), Wt 712.α; acrophonic abbreviation?
	**27*	*RE*	MY Ui 651 (mainly 100 units); acrophonic abbreviation?
	**44*	*KE*	KN Gg 711*v*. (high quantities); acrophonic abbreviation for a vessel, κέραμος?
	**51*	*DU*	MY Ui 709 (high quantities); acrophonic abbreviation for e.g. /dluku-/, cf. γλυκύρριζα, /drup-/ 'scrapings', cf. δρύπτω, or for /dusos/, cf. δύσεα· τοῦ τοίχου τὰ πέριξ, Κύπριοι?
	**61*	*O*	KN Xd 149*v*.; acrophonic abbreviation?
	**77*	*KA*	PY Vn 1314.3.A; acrophonic abbreviation for *ka-ja*?
	**81*	*KU*	MY Ui 709 (high quantities); acrophonic abbreviation?
	**172*		KN Gg; iconic?, *Idéogrammes*, 283f.: no name, unless /kērron/ or rather /kēros/ 'honeycomb of beeswax', used as matrix for:
		**172+KE*[	KN U 436.
		**172+KERO*$_2$	KN U 746 (but *+KERO* preferable).
	**173*	LUNA	KN Am, B, E; iconic: moon for 'month'.
	**174*		KN Gv; iconic, used as a matrix for *+WE*, surcharged abbreviation for *we-je-we* plur. /hui̯ēwes/ 'shrubby vines', cf. ὑιεύς, probable morphologization of a former locative (merged with the instrumental) /huiēu/: 'a tree *with a son*', an expression for this kind of vines with a tree as trellis.
	**176*	ARB*or*	KN Gv; iconic: 'fruit tree'.

Vessels

	**08*	*A*	PY Un 1320; acrophonic abbreviation for **a-ko*, plur. *a-ke-a*$_2$ /angeha/ 'vessels'?
	**155*	**155*^{VAS}	MY Ge; matrix iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 185ff., 273ff. Mycenaean *ka-ra-to* /kalat^{h}os/ 'basket' κάλαθος.
		**155+DI*	KN K 7363; acrophonic abbreviation for unknown word, unless *di-pa*, cf. below.
		**155*^{VAS}*+DI*	

*155+NI
*155^{VAS}+NI
MY Ue 661;
acrophonic abbreviation for unknown word, unless *NI* 'figs' (see above).

*183
KN U 1812;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 195f.: poss. a vessel, perhaps a matrix+*SA* (in a Linear A version without 'pendants').

*200 PHI*ala*??
formerly *200^{VAS}
PY Ta 709;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 221ff. *pi-je-ra$_3$* /p^{h}i̯elai/ 'bowls' cf. φιάλη, φιέλη.

formerly *219^{VAS} PY Tn *pi-a$_2$-ra* /p^{h}ihalā/, a squarish variant.

*201 TRI*pus*??
formerly *201^{VAS}
PY Ta (TRI*pus* in the Wingspread Convention);
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 225ff. *ti-ri-po* /tripos/ 'three-legged cauldron', cf. τρίπους.

*202 CRA*ter*??
formerly *202^{VAS} KN K; PY Ta;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 234ff. *di-pa* /dipas/ Homeric δέπας, prob. a loanword from Luwian /dibas-/ 'heaven, sky'; used as matrix for +*DI* (including formerly *214+*DI*).
Differentiation by numbers of handles on rim:

		CRA$^{0,2,3,4??}$	PY Ta;
	*202	CRA$^{0??}$	KN K(2) 773.B;
	*202+*DI*	CRA$^{2??}$+*DI*	KN K(1) 740.2 formerly *214+*DI* (without vertical stroke at bottom);
	*202+*DI*	CRA$^{3??}$+*DI*	KN K(1) 829.

*203 URC*eus*??
formerly *203^{VAS} PY Ta;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 234ff. *qe-to* /k^{w}et^{h}os/ cf. πίθος 'large wine-jar'.

*204 *204^{VAS}
PY Ta;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 246ff. and VANDENABEELE 1990, *qe-ra-na* /k^{wh}erānā/ 'jug'.

*205 *205^{VAS}
PY Tn;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 252f. plur. *a-te-we*, sing. not yet attested **a-te-u* 'ewer, pitcher'; obscure interpretation, ultimately /alt^{h}eus/ 'nourisher'?, cf. **h$_2$elt^{h}-* and Hesychian ἀλθεύς· ἰατρός.

*206 HYD*ria*??
formerly *206^{VAS}
PY Tn (HYD*ria* in the Wingspread Convention);
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 257ff. *ka-ti* /kāt^{h}is/ 'kind of vessel for pouring water' cf. κηθίς 'dice-box'.

*207 *207^{VAS}
KN K; HV Kb 5;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 245f. *ku-ru-su-*56* an interpretation /k^{h}rūs°/ 'golden *u*-*56' is now most improbable after the HV evidence, since the three-legged metal vessel was commonly intended to be placed on fired hearth.

*208 PAT*era*?? formerly *208VAS PY Tn (PAT*era* in the Wingspread Convention); iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 209 (**208a*/**208b*) *po-ka-ta-ma* /*po-k*-at(h) mā/ 'a kind of vessel', cf. BENDALL 2013.

 *209 AMPH*ora*?? formerly *209VAS KN Fh, Gg, Uc, U; PY Tn (AMPH*ora* in the Wingspread Convention);
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 259ff. and VANDENABEELE 1990, plur. *a-pi-po-re-we* or *a-po-re-we* (haplology). /am(pʰi)pʰorēwes/ 'amphorae' Hom. ἀμφιφορεύς, used as matrix for:

*209+A AMPH??+A KN Gg; KH Gq; acrophonic abbreviation for its name.

 *210 OLEA*ria*VAS?? formerly *210VAS KN K 778.1;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 266ff. and VANDENABEELE 1988, plur. *ka-ra-re-we* /kʰlārēwes/ 'stirrup-jars' mainly for oil, cf. χλαρόν· ἔλαιηρὸς κώθων (the vessel name was used in Pi. *P.* 9.38 to characterize the laugh of Centaurs referring probably to the noise in filling it and pouring from it [*Documents*², 494], cf. the Spanish [from Catalan] name for 'flask' *cantimplora*, 'it sings and cries'), cf. καχλάζω?, used as matrix for:

*210+KA OLEAVAS??+KA KN K 700.1 acrophonic abbreviation for its name.

 *211 *211VAS only attested with surcharged syllabogram;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 205ff. 265ff., used as matrix for:

 *211+PO *211VAS+PO KN Fs, K acrophonic abbreviation for *po-ro-ko-wo* /prokʰowos/? ('rhyton' BENDALL 2013) or cf. *po-ka-ta-ma*?

*212 SIT*ula*?? formerly *212VAS KN Uc; PY Tn (SIT*ula* in the Wingspread Convention);
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 190f. *u-do-ro* /(h)udros/ 'vessel for water', used as matrix for:

*212+U SIT??+U KN K acrophonic abbreviation for its name.

 *213 LANX?? formerly *213VAS KN K, Uc; PY Tn (LANX in the Wingspread Convention);
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 183ff. *i-po-no* /ipnos/ 'Dutch oven?' ἰπνός, used as matrix for:

LANX+ARG?? KN X 9907.1?; PY Tn 316 *v*.5 ARG?? over LANX?? indicating the metal of the vessel.

 *214 *214VAS PY Ta;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 240f. *pa-ko-to* dual /pʰaktō/, hence sing. **pa-ka-ta*, cf. φάκται· ληνοί, σιπύαι, πύελοι.

 *215 CALix?? formerly *215VAS PY Tn (CALix in the Wingspread Convention);
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 210ff., no name.

 *216 *216VAS PY Tn;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 212ff. and VANDENABEELE 1990, no name.

*217 *217^{VAS} KN K;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 241ff. and PANAYOTOU 1985, no name for this 'ostrich-vase'.

 *218 *218^{VAS} KN K;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 200ff. and VANDENABEELE 1990, no name.

*221 *221^{VAS} KN K 434.1;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 207f., no name.

*222 *222^{VAS} KN K 773.A;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 233f., no name.

*225 AL*Veus* PY Tn;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 176ff. *re-wo-te-re-jo* /lewotrei̯on/ 'bath-tub', cf. metathesized λόετρον, including formerly *246 ⊏ KN U, Ws *a-sa-mi-to* /asamint^{h}os/ 'bath-tub' cf. ἀσάμινθος.

*226 *226^{VAS} KN K;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 271ff. 'washing ware set', formed by *301^{VAS} *302^{VAS} *303^{VAS} *304^{VAS}.

 *227 *227^{VAS} KN K;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 268ff. and VANDENABEELE 1990, no name for this 'rhyton'.

*228 LIG*ula*?? formerly *228^{VAS} PY Ta (LIG*ula* in the Wingspread Convention);
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 187f. and VANDENABEELE 1981, 770ff., *po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja* /prohelktēri̯a/ 'ladle' or /prohektēri̯a/ 'saucepan', cf. -τειρα?

 *229 *229^{VAS} KN K;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 188f., no name for this 'ladle'.

 *250 *250^{VAS} PY Tn;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 194f., no name.

 *301 *301^{VAS} KN K;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 216f., no name.

 *302 *302^{VAS} KN K;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 217f., no name.

*303 *303^{VAS} KN K;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 253ff., no name.

*304 *304^{VAS} KN K;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 301, no name.

 *305 *305^{VAS} KN K;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 218ff., no name (prob. identical to *221).

Furniture

 *169 LECT*us*?? PY Pa, Pn, Un 1482.4;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 172ff., SACCONI 1973, *de-mi-ni-ja* /demni̯a/ 'bed(s)' δέμνια.

 *220 SCA*mnum*?? formerly *220 PY Ta;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 161ff. *ta-ra-nu* /t^{h}rānus/ 'footstool' cf. θρῆνυς.

Weapons and armour

	**03*	*PA*	PY Sh; acrophonic abbreviation for *pa-ra-wa-jo* dual /parāwwai̯ō/, *Idéogrammes*, 22f., 'cheek pieces', cf. Ion. παρήιον, Hom. παρειαί.
	**61*	*O*	PY Sh, Xa 639; TH Ug; acrophonic abbreviation for *o-pa-wo-ta* plur. /opaworta/, *Idéogrammes*, 22f., 'appendages', bands, platelets or flaps similar to the Akkadian *kalkū* (plur.) at Nuzi.
	**70*	*KO*	PY Sh; acrophonic abbreviation for *ko-ru-to* gen. /korut^{h}os/, *Idéogrammes*, 23f. 'of the helmet', cf. κόρυς 'helmet' (see below).
	**78*	*QE*	KN Sc 266, 9113; acrophonic abbreviation for *qe-ro*$_2$ /sk^{w}ellon/ 'corslet'.
	**163*	ARM*a*	PY Sh; TI Si; iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 20f., 36f. 'armour'.
	**191*	GAL*ea*	KN Sk; iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 19f., *ko-ru* κόρυς 'helmet'.
	**230*	HAS*ta*	KN R; iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 56f. *e-ke-a* plur. /enk^{h}eha/, 'spear' cf. ἔγχος.
	**231*	SAG*itta*	KN R; iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 59f. 'arrow', no name.
	**232*	**232*$^{ARM??}$	PY Ta; iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 60f. *wa-o* /wahor/ 'axe' formally not Hom. ἄορ 'sword' (< PIE **h$_{x}$$_{o}$ns-r̥*).
	**233*	PUG*io*	KN Ra; iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 49f. *pa-ka-na* plur. /p^{h}asgana/, cf. φάσγανον 'dagger'.
	**234*	**234*$^{ARM??}$	PY Ta; iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 47f. *qi-si-pe-e* dual /k^{w}sip^{h}ehe/, '2 swords' cf. ξίφος.
	**235*	SEC*uris*??	HV Rb 6.2, followed by 2; 'double axe'; iconic (new numbering; macrophotograph kindly provided by A. Vasilogamvrou).
	**236*	*oi*GUP	KN Ra, X 9869.1?; iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 47f. *zo-wa*? /skowā/, cf. σκευή (the transliteration is a reversed PUG*io*).
	**254*	JAC*ulum*	KN Ws; iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 58f. *pa-ta-ja* /palta$^{i̯}$a/, plur. 'javelins' or rather an old collective 'missile stuff' cf. παλτόν 'dart'.
	**255*	**255*$^{ARM??}$	KN K; iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 24f. *qe-ro*$_2$, 'corslet'.
	**256*		KN U; iconic: bow? *Idéogrammes*, 299 old collective τόξα 'bow set' or rather τόξον, cf. *to-ko-so-wo-ko* /toksoworgos/ 'bow-maker' PY An 207.12 and the MN *to-ko-so-ta* /Toksotās/ 'Archer' KN V(1) 150.

(Parts of) Chariots

	**177*	**177*$^{CAPS??}$	KN U 4478; iconic: yoke?, *Idéogrammes*, 24f., 284f., no name.

*240 BIG*ae* KN Sc, Sd, Xd;
iconic: complete chariot, *Idéogrammes*, 76ff. *i-qi-ja* (*wo-ka*) /ikwi̯ā (wokʰā)/, 'horse-drawn (wain)' cf. ἵππος.

 *241 CUR*rus* KN Sd, Se;
iconic: chariot without wheels on, *Idéogrammes*, 76ff.

*242 CAPS*us* KN Sf, Sg; TI Sm?;
iconic: chariot frame, *Idéogrammes*, 76ff.

 *243 ROTA KN Sg, So; PY Sa; KH Sq; TI Sl;
iconic: wheel, *Idéogrammes*, 139ff. *a-mo* /armo/, 'wheel', cf. ἁρα-ρίσκω, used as matrix for:

*243+*TE* ROTA+*TE* PY Sa;
acrophonic abbreviation for *te-mi-dwe* /termidwen(t)/ 'fringed' or 'with wedges', cf. τέρμις· πούς.

*245 *245*CAPS?? KN Sf;
iconic: chariot part, *Idéogrammes*, 24f., 293f. (or a parasol? HILLER 1979), no name.

 *253 *253*CAPS?? KN Sp;
iconic: chariot part, *Idéogrammes*, 24f., 298f. dual *wo-ra-e* /worahe/ or /wolahe/, sing. *wo-ra* either neuter in *-as* (< **welh₂-* or **werh₂-*, unlikely) or masculine in *-ā* (< **wel-* or **wer-*, better **wel-*, cf. εἰλέω, ἴλλω 'plait').

Artifacts

*74 ZE KN K(1) 740.5, R 1562 (note that *ZE* is used elsewhere for a 'pair', see §17.3.5.5.8);
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 278f.: *pi-ri-je* /pri̯ēn/ 'saw or comb?' cf. πρίω, πρίων 'saw'.

 *158 SACC*us*?? KN Ld, L;
iconic? 'bag for garments'?, *Idéogrammes*, 280f., no name, cf. φάσκωλος 'leathern bag'.

 *165 KN Sc;
iconic, unidentified if not a variant of the following.

*167 TAL*ea*?? KN Oa;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 150ff. 'ingot', used as matrix for:

*167+*PE* TAL??+*PE* KN Oa *pe-re-ku-* ?/pelekus/ cf. πέλεκυς equivalent to ten minas in Cyprus.

 *168 KN Pp, U, X 7862.2?;
iconic, *Idéogrammes*, 281f. poss. a container for textiles, the name of which begins with *se-* (DAVARAS 1986, suggests a clay beehive, but this interpretation would contradict the textile interpretation of the Pp set prompted by Hand adscription, cf. DUHOUX 1975 who proposes 'loincloth'), used as matrix for:

*168+*SE* KN Pp;
acrophonic abbreviation for its name?

*178 KN U(1) 95;
iconic: chest? *Idéogrammes*, 285f., no name.

*179 KN U(1) 96;
iconic: unidentified *Idéogrammes*, 286f., no name.

 *181 KN M 757?, U 736.2?;
iconic: rope loop?, *Idéogrammes*, 287f., no name or *e-to-ro-qa-ta* /entrok^{w}ātās/.

 *182 KN U 876;
iconic: unidentified, stone-pincers? *Idéogrammes*, 288f., no name.

*184 KN U 1813 (= 1539bis);
iconic: unidentified *Idéogrammes*, 289f.

 *185 LIBra?? KN Ws 1701.α;
iconic: pair of scales?, *Idéogrammes*, 156ff., 290ff. (prob. different from the one on Ws 8494: *257).

*189 PY Qa, Un 1482.2?;
iconic? poss. a matrix+*KE* acrophonic abbreviation for **ke-ra*? cf. *ke-ra-e-we*.

*248 MY Ue;
non-iconic: unidentified, perhaps 'roasted figs'.

 *249 PY Mm;
iconic: unidentified, perhaps a vessel, *Idéogrammes*, 295f. See KILLEN 2008, 446f.

*251 PY Ua 1418;
iconic: unidentified *Idéogrammes*, 296f.

 *252 PY Ua 994;
iconic?: unidentified *Idéogrammes*, 297.

 *257 KN Ws 8494.γ;
iconic: pair of scales?? *Idéogrammes*, 300 (prob. different from the one on Ws 1701: *185).

*259 KN U;
iconic: unidentified.

 *260 KN U;
iconic: unidentified.

§17.3.5.5.8. *Numbers*

The Linear B numerical system is clearly borrowed from Linear A and constructed on a decimal basis:

	Unit	a vertical stroke;
	Ten	a horizontal stroke;
	Hundred	a circle;
	Thousand	a circle with an external cross;
	Ten thousand	the symbol for 'thousand' surcharged with a 'ten'.

The two tablets of Fig. 17.16 show several totals of sheep. Above, in the pastures at *pa-i-to* (1,509) and *da-wo* (2,440). Below, the new (*ne*) livestock at Amnisos (poss. 11,900[, although only 11,600[are extant).

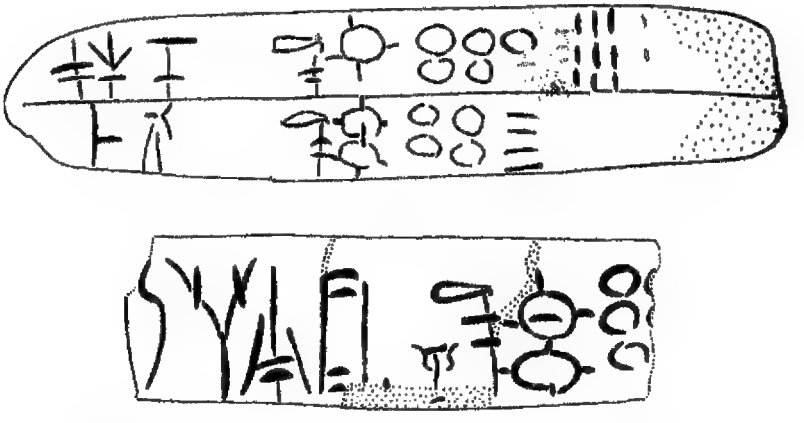

Fig. 17.16. Tablets KN Dn 1094 and 1319, both in Hand 117 [drawn by L. Godart].

Some livestock and artifacts were viewed as natural or functional pairs, e.g. teams of chariot horses, of oxen or pairs of wheels. For counting these items, two acrophonic logograms are used, one for 'pair' (**74 ZE*, initial syllable for unattested **ze-u-ko* /ʤeugos/ 'pair')[197] and another for the unit (**15 MO* initial syllable for unattested **mo-no* [still without the influence of alph. Gr. οἶϝος], **mo-nwo* or **mo-nu-wo* /monwos/ 'one' for odd wheels and unpaired horses)[198]. It is clear that we are dealing with a plain Greek innovation, not borrowed from the Linear A parent script. This was possibly prompted by the existence of the dual number in the Greek language. Otherwise it could have arisen from the simple fact that accountants dealing with functional pairs of objects (a chariot has two wheels; a plough is drawn by a pair of oxen) would naturally count such things in pairs.

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[197] KN Ce records in the 124 Hands, Ch records in Hand 110, C 1044, 5734, 7698, Sc records in the Hands 124 (on Sc 241 a former *ZE* was erased and corrected to *MO*), wheels on Sg 1811, So records in Hands 128?, 129?, 130, 131; PY Sa 22 (Class iii), Hand 26, Sh records in Stylus 735 of Class ii, Ub 1315.4 (Hand 31), Va 482 (Hand 42); at Khania on Sq 1.

[198] KN Sc records in the Hands 124; So records in Hands 130 and 131; PY Sa records in Hand 26; and at Tiryns on Sl 8.1.2.

§17.3.5.5.9. *Measures*

Until recent times, the standards for weights and measures in England were formed by a series of implied units (multiples and submultiples). In weighing standard units as ton, hundredweight, quarter, stone, libra, pound, ounce, dram, pennyweight, grain were used and for measuring liquid and dry volumes a whole constellation of units (quarter, bushel, peck, gallon, quart, pint, gill, fluid ounce, etc.). Such a practice was widespread in ancient times and in Europe before the introduction and generalization of the decimal metric system.

This type of system of measurement has primitive origins and we encounter it attested for the first time in Europe in Linear B, as was demonstrated at an early stage by BENNETT 1950.

§17.3.5.5.9.1. Weights

The Mycenaean weight system[199] is based on five values, which are conventionally transcribed with a series of successive alphabetic consonantal letters in small capitals; their relative face values are listed below:

	*118	*117	*116	*115	*114[200]
UNIT					
FRACTION OF THE FORMER		1/30	1/4	1/12	1/2
FRACTION OF THE LARGEST UNIT	1	1/30	1/120	1/1440	1/2880
TRANSLITERATION	L	M	N	P	Q

Sign L is clearly pictorial and represents a pair of scales,[201] designated in alph. Gr. as τάλαντα (an old collective: 'bearing [> weighing] set'); it is likely therefore that it stands for the major unit of the weight system, the talent, which is subdivided in the later Greek system into 60 *mnai*, or 600 *drachmai*, or 3600 *oboloi*. The fractions or subdivisions of the main unit show that they are based on a sexagesimal notation: sign M stands then for a 'double mina', which perhaps justifies the 'doubling' of the sign (similar to a smaller version of the syllabogram *we*) and sign Q would represent the Mycenaean λῖτρα, an equivalent of the Near Eastern *shekel*.

Nevertheless, we still have the problem of determining the absolute values of the Mycenaean measure systems, for there were several types of talents in contemporary civilizations (a 'light' talent and a 'heavy' talent) and even in first millennium Greece the talent amounted to 37.44 kg in the Aeginetan system, but only 26.196 kg in the Euboean system. Although it is feasible to determine the weight of the Mycenaean

[199] Weights have been thoroughly studied in PETRUSO 1978 and, for wool-weighing, PETRUSO 1986 and MELENA 1987a. See also PARISE 1986 and DE FIDIO 1998-1999 and 1999.

[200] The smallest unit is currently only attested at Knossos.

[201] A comprehensive study of the use of the balance in Antiquity is DE ZWARTE 1994-1995.

talent on the basis of external evidence (a chalk weight with a sculpted octopus, found in the Magazine XV at Knossos, amounted to 29 kg and several bronze ingots found at Aghia Triadha weighed a mean of 29.132 kg), there is a probable equation which can be attested on the Knossos tablets Oa 730, whose text runs as follows:

]*167* 60 L 52 M 2.

Logogram **167* represents pictorially a metal ingot (ox-hide ingots: 𐄷) and it is likely that the weight of the recorded sixty ingots was calculated as follows: 60 ingots = 1562 M (= [52 × 30] + 2); if one ingot = ± 29 kg, 60 ingots = ± 1740 kg and one M = ± 1.11 kg. Hence, one L unit = 30 M = ± 33.41 kg.

For ease of calculation, a Mycenaean talent of 30 kg could be conventionally used and then the subdivisions could be established as follows:

L	M	N	P	Q
30 kg	1 kg	250 g	20 g	10 g
τάλαντον	διμναῖον	ἡμιμναῖον	δίλιτρον	λῖτρα/σίγλος
talent	*double mina*	*half mina* or *30 shekels*	*2 shekels*	*shekel*[202]

§17.3.5.5.9.2. Special weights

For weighing WOOL, Mycenaeans used a special symbol that designates both the commodity and the basic wool weight, conventionally transcribed as LANA. Such a practice (and as a rule almost every aspect of Mycenaean sheep rearing) is closely paralleled by the Assyrian documents from Nuzi, where the use of special weights for weighing wool as *kuduktu* and *nariu* is also attested; the *nariu* is even equivalent to the value of LANA, approximately 3 kg. Lesser quantities are recorded in Linear B by means of the general series M, N and P[203]. Thus, the need for special weights when dealing with wool seems to be widespread and the underlying reason might be due to the nature and volume of a Bronze Age fleece. Other standards are *PA* in the Of tablets from Thebes[204] and *PE* in Od(3) 1062, 1063 from Knossos.

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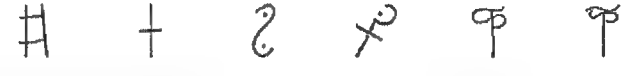
[202] The exact standard for the *shekel* would be ± 9.30 grams. It is assumed that Q represents actually the upper half of the former P 𐄐 (as the tracing 𐄑 could suggest) and therefore equates to the *shekel*. On the other hand, the Mycenaean standard weight was named *ta-to-mo* σταθμόν as evidenced in the nodule KN Ws 1703 (*ta-to-mo o-nu-ke*), which was once attached to a weight of P value used in weighing 'claws' (P *stat^{h}mon onuk^{h}ei*), perhaps a pierced sphendonoid weight to be suspended from the one beam of the balance while the light 'claw' was placed in the pan; cf. KILLEN 1985, for a slightly different view.

[203] M: KN Dl(1) records in Hand 118, Dk(2) records in Hand 119, Lc(2) records in Hand 113, L 590 *lat. inf.* and 693.1.2 (Hand 103), M 683.1b (Hand 103), M 8170.2, Od records in Hands 103 and 115; PY La 622*v*.2 and 631*v*. (Hand 23), Un 853.3; N: KN Lc(2) records in Hand 113, L 695.4 (Hand 103), Od 666 *lat. sup.* (Hand 115); P: KN L records in Hand 103, Od records in Hand 115; Ws 1703.α (probably rather a plain logogram than a metrogram?; cf. *KT* 4; *Idéogrammes*, but see the above note); PY La 630*v*. (Hand 13); note that Q on KN L 693.2 (Hand 103) was used for measuring an obscure *sa-pa* commodity, presumably as light and expensive as saffron.

[204] DE FIDIO 1998-1999, 57 and note 59, proposes a value ⅛ LANA equivalent therefore to half a fleece, ± 350 g.

For weighing SAFFRON in addition to Q, two other subunits are exclusively used at Knossos by means of logograms of acrophonic nature, *RO* and *QI*, whose relative values are still undetermined. *RO* and *QI* are attested on Np records in Hand 124–E and on an obscure tablet Og 1804, by another of the 124 Hands, which might also record saffron. The extraordinary lightness of the saffron stigmas, their high value in terms of working hours and colouring strength (or even their rôle in the religious sphere, as inferred from the Minoan frescoes at Akrotiri, Thera) justified careful weighing and it cannot be excluded that these units could stand for minute fractions borrowed from the Minoan weight system and only retained in a conservative, earlier usage of the Mycenaean administration at Knossos (Hands 124).

A join of tablet fragments (Np[1] 7508+8594 by Jean-Pierre Olivier) allowed us to put *RO* within the span between N and Q (*RO* could have a value 3 P, equivalent to six shekels). The units *RO* and *QI* as special standards for saffron would have therefore overlapped with the current weight system; it is likely then that *RO* stands for a quarter of N (± 60 grams), since its shape could represent a quarter of the shape of N (a stylization of one of its four corners 𐄪, 𐄪), whereas *QI* would represent either a tenth of *RO* (± 6 grams) or $1/18$ of this standard, as shown in the following table. *RO* would represent therefore the 'Minoan weight unit' (60 g).



	KN Np 274	268	270	272	270	277
TRANSLITERATION	N	*RO*	P	Q	*QI*	
	1	$1/4$	$1/12$	$1/24$	$1/72$	
		1	$1/3$	$1/6$	$1/18$	
			1	$1/2$	$1/6$	
				1	$1/3$	
					1	
	250 g	60 g	20 g	10 g	3.5 g[205]	
		6 *shekels*		1 *shekel*		

§17.3.5.5.9.3. Dry and liquid capacity

There is some similarity here with the ancient volume system where the same standards are used for dry and liquid capacity. The Mycenaean standards for capacity use a common set of metrograms, although the relationship between them varies according to whether liquid or dry goods are involved. The agreed relationship is as follows:

[205] The smallest unit of 3.5 g would equal an amount of 100 grains of wheat/*Einkorn*, cf. DAYTON 1974. It is clear that *QI* is a unit representing a kind of heavy dram or $1/5$ ounce.

		DRY MEASURES				LIQUID MEASURES		
		*112	*111	*110		*113	*111	*110
UNIT		𐄷	𐄶	𐄵		𐄸	𐄶	𐄵
FRACTION OF THE FORMER		1/10[206]	1/6	1/4		1/3	1/6	1/4
FRACTION OF THE LARGEST UNIT	1	1/10	1/60	1/240	1	1/3	1/18	1/72
TRANSCRIPTION		T	V	Z		S	V	Z

In the transliteration, two different capitals (S or T) are used for rendering the first metrogram; although their relative value is the same in both capacity systems with respect to the smaller subunits, their relationship with the major unit varies according to the commodity (1/10 for dry capacity versus 1/3 for the liquid capacity). In each case the major unit for both systems lacks a symbol of its own and is equated with the logogram itself for the relevant dry or liquid commodity: this logogram is then immediately followed by numbers, representing the quantity. Such a difference of practice with the weight system perhaps points to the fact that the basic unit upon which the double capacity systems were built lay in the lowest zone (Z); the appearance (𐄵) of the metrogram suggests that it represented the Mycenaean κύαθος, as in the first millennium Greece (with a value of 0.4 or 0.45 litres). There is no guarantee, however, that there was a continuity in the values of capacity from Mycenaean to the Classical times and external evidence for absolute values needs to be sought either from the data obtained from the documents themselves (by analysing the food rations recorded) and/or from the actual volumes of the Mycenaean vessels recovered (looking for statistical concentrations of capacities which could correspond to values of units).

Two proposals have been put forward for the Mycenaean unit (*kotylē*): Mabel LANG[207] assumes the value 0.8 l. on the basis of the pottery, whereas John CHADWICK[208] proposed the value of 1.6 l. according to the rations. Based on these suggestions, the Mycenaean κύαθος would amount either to 0.2 or to 0.4 l. On a Pylian tablet (Fr 1184) 18 major units of olive oil were recorded along with 38 stirrup-jars. It is likely that the oil amount was stored in these 38 jars and the content of each jar would likely amount

[206] It is not clear whether the value of the second unit for dry measure was a subdivision of 1/12 of the upper unit as has been inferred from the sum on tablet TH Ft 140. Although such a subdivision could be justified on a sexagesimal basis, it is probable that the editors were misled by a crack on the clay surface. The numerical Index by F. Aura will immediately show the reader that a figure greater than 9 is never attested under T and this is hardly a coincidence.

[207] LANG 1964. As many Pylos pots (with sufficient soundness to hold wheat) as possible were measured by M. LANG, who also showed the high frequency of the doubled value of 1.6 l.

[208] *Documents*[2], 393, 420; *Studies Bennett*, 73; *World*, 118, on the basis of the monthly ration recorded on KN Am(2) 819.

to 13.6 l., the capacity of the most frequent size of Mycenaean stirrup-jars. This fact supports the absolute values of the smallest unit as 0.4 l. Moreover, in a recent discussion on Mycenaean subsistence rations in comparison with similar rations in contemporaneous Mesopotamian documents with special attention to their nutrient and caloric values, Ruth PALMER[209] concluded that the equivalence put forward by Chadwick fits with the evidence better than the one suggested by M. Lang. It is also possible to make a new consideration of structural type. As a rule, weight standards (and the associated standards for capacity) are based on the weights' suitability to be carried. The burden unit in Assyrian caravans is a 'donkey' *imēru* 'homer', because this animal was the pack-carrier. The 'donkey' conventionally stands for an approximate weight of 65 kg[210], which in dry terms, such as for cereals, given their density, represents a volume of approximately 100 litres. Corn is easier to transport than liquids, which are usually carried in earthenware containers, although leather bags too were probably known at the time (cf. perhaps *MU* in the Knossos Fh series[211]). Considering the Mycenaean liquid commodity most measured and recorded, olive oil, it is feasible to observe the weight of the highest standard in both values. Since oil density is 0.916 kg/l., an equivalence litre = kilo could be used with a slight weight reduction (modern Greeks still handle wine and olive oil by *kilo*). A miniature clay figure of a donkey carrying two larger pots found at Phaestos (LM IIIB 1300-1200 BC) may therefore suggest that the carrier bears two liquid major units plus the weight of the pots (i.e., 60 kg approximately).

The conventionally agreed absolute values of volume are as follows:

DRY MEASURES				
MAJOR UNIT 96	T	V	Z	
28.8	9.6	1.6	0.4 litres	
MAJOR UNIT	S	V	Z	
LIQUID MEASURES				

§17.3.5.5.9.4. Special capacity measures

As already noted, the Mycenaean capacity system lacked signs of its own for the largest units; instead of specific metrograms, the major unit is referred to using the logogram of the commodity itself, for instance, GRA for wheat, HORD for barley, OLE for olive oil and VIN for wine (abbreviations respectively of the Latin terms *granum, hordeum, oleum, vinum*). However, the logogram of the relevant commodity is not used to refer to the largest unit of dry or liquid measurement in the case of some commodities which can be grouped under the general denomination of 'aromatic products'. These are recorded on the

[209] PALMER 1989, 96.
[210] LEWY 1964. An adaptation to the Mycenaean system can be found in GALLAGHER 1988, 85ff.
[211] MELENA 1983, 121.

tablets by means of the logogram **123* transcribed as AROM (abbreviation of *aroma*). AROM therefore seems to be a kind of determinative for an item which may already have been identified in the text of the tablet and/or is occasionally surcharged with other more specific logograms for the aromatic substance concerned. It is then likely that the logogram AROM actually stood for the largest unit of the measurements for dry commodities and it depicted an artifact used for measuring (this is similar in both respects to the talent monogram, L, used for weights). Thus, 𐄁 AROM depicts a kind of container with a handle on the side.[212] An alternative explanation would suggest that AROM was the residual major unit of a former system of volume measures, which was subsequently replaced by the easier procedure of using the commodity logogram for this purpose but just retained for aromatics.

§17.3.5.5.9.5. Length and surface measures

There is no evidence for measures of length other than the possibility that the Mycenaean system could be based on the foot. In fact, in a household furniture inventory from Pylos, tables are described as 'six-footed' and 'nine-footed'. It remains possible that these adjectives refer to the number of table legs (and the fact that they represent multiples of three is because these are more practical on uneven ground).[213] However, they are more readily understood as measures of length (about 1.5 m. and 2.5 m. approximately). Unfortunately, a Mycenaean system of measures of length cannot be deduced from the texts.

As in their contemporary civilizations,[214] the Mycenaeans used the dry units system for measuring land and the measure of a field originally depended either on the quantity of seed required or the quantity of rations produced. From the Middle Ages, the measure of Spanish field area *fanega* (from Arabic *fanīqa* 'sack') ultimately represented a dry capacity measure determined by a sack of grain, i.e. it stood for the field surface which could be sown with the wheat seed contained in the sack. The Ancient Egyptian *khar* 'sack' (approx. 97.8 or 78.2 litres) is a close parallel. Similarly the logogram GRA 'wheat' on the Linear B tablets is used to designate either the staple commodity or the unit of surface area; the usage is clear when the quantities preceded by the logogram represent the area of 'precincts' (PY Er 312.3) or combinations of vineyards and fig trees (PY Er 880.5-6). It is difficult to deduce the precise value of GRA as a surface measure, because the seeding ratio depends on the kind of soil. A fertile soil requires more seed than a drier, parched soil that is more sparsely sown. Thus the difficulty lies in establishing the Mycenaean seeding ratio: Ancient Eastern parallels vary with

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[212] The archeological comment on **123* in *Idéogrammes*, 198ff., figs. 128a-b, envisages three kinds of artefact: an earthenware container, a wooden measure reinforced with bronze and a wicker basket. See BENNETT 1987 for a *kutel* with a capacity of nearly 11 liters, which could represent the kind of measure depicted in AROM. THOMPSON 2012 takes AROM as representing the semantic trait 'aromatic, spice', a fact which would prove its ideogrammatic character.

the climatic conditions and with the different kinds of soil, but a proportion between the amount of seed-corn and the seeded surface in the Neo-Babylonian period can be considered normal in modern agriculture.[215] On the other hand, C. Roebuck, in a paper on economy and population in Messenia,[216] assessed a mean of wheat production of 10 hectolitres per ha for wheat and 18 hectolitres per ha for barley. Since the corresponding seeding quota amounts to $1/6$, the yield of 1 GRA would be 576 litres wheat (96 × 6), that is, by using Roebuck's mean for wheat, a surface of 57.6 ares. The practice would be therefore similar to that of the Neo-Babylonian period (55 ares with 100 litres).

It is, then, probable that GRA stands for the Mycenaean 'sack' (of 96 litres for the capacity measure) as a land measure of approximately 60 a. sown with the contents of such a sack. So, for measuring fields, a conventional system of values could be proposed as follows:

1	$1/10$	$1/60$	$1/240$
GRA = 60 ares	T = 6 a.	V = 1 a.	Z = 25 m^2

In the Knossos Uf tablets in Hands 122 and 123 two acrophonic logograms (*DA* and *PA*) also seem to have been used for area units.[217]

Origin of the measures

To conclude this discussion of the Mycenaean system of weights and measures, it seems appropriate to consider briefly the question of its origin. The system itself represents a Linear B innovation, since the script had set aside the Linear A fractional system and preferred an improved system, perhaps more suitable for conversion into measures accepted in international trade as well as more practical. The similarity of the peculiar Mycenaean way of weighing wool with that used in Assyrian Nuzi has already been noted. J. CHADWICK[218] observed that the Semitic *mina* (Akk. *manū*) is reflected in

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[213] YASUR-LANDAU 2005 has recently argued that the Mycenaean descriptions actually represent adjectives stating the number of real 'leg pieces' counted separately from the luxury table-tops themselves in order to facilitate storage.

[214] LEWY 1949, 4, 8ff. It is worth emphasising that *naruqqu* 'sack' is also the large dry measure in the Old Assyrian texts, cf. also POWELL 1973, 77f.

[215] LEWY 1944, 70 and table on rates in page 73. See also SEGRÈ 1944. Other values are considered in LANE 2009, 112f.

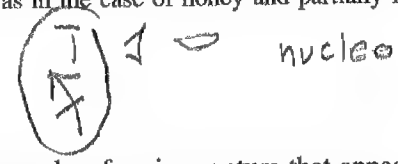
[216] ROEBUCK 1945, 158.

[217] DUHOUX 1974, Section II, 34ff., suggested that *DA* is an acrophony for δάμαρ, similarly to the use of *hide* (< OE *hīgid*, *hīd*) for household, the land allowance adequate for the support of a family (in records in Hands 122 and 123 and in those tablets not assigned to Hand; M.F. Lane would suggest for *DA* an acrophony for δαιθμός attested as a land allotment and *PA* could be the initial for φάρσος 'portion'); *PA* in turn could stand for the initial syllable of *σπάδιον (the alternative *πάλαθρον seems to be excluded, since πλέθρον, πέλεθρον 'measure of length of 100 feet' is reconstructed as *$*k^{w}elh_1$-$d^{h}rom$*, OLSEN 1988, 33). However, an acrophony for /p^{h}āk^{h}us/ 'cubit' should not be excluded.

[218] *World*, 103. This choice of the double mina as a basic unit could have been prompted by the practice of weighing that places 2 minas in one pan of the balance, cf. DE ZWARTE 1994-1995, 117ff.

standard M, a double mina that is conspicuously indicated by its appearance ( ). On the other hand, relationships between the standards in the Mycenaean weights and measures system were established on a duodecimal or sexagesimal basis, probably influenced by Eastern sources. The same could be true of the measures of capacity, since the internal relations attested in the Mycenaean systems of T/S ~ V ~ Z as 1 ~ 1/6 ~ 1/4 are identical to the Hittite system and the relations among the standards *parīsu* ~ *sūtu* ~ *ḫazil* as 1 ~ 1/6 ~ 1/4 as well.[219] The Eastern source of the Mycenaean innovation in weight and capacity measures is a strong evidence for locating the place of adoption of Linear B in the Asiatic shore of the Aegean sea.

On the other hand, it is evident that highest standards of capacity measures were originally of secondary nature since they lack logograms of their own. A similar explanation can also be applied to the coexistence of other mechanisms for measuring liquid commodities by counting specific containers, as in the case of honey and partially in the case of olive oil.



§17.3.5.5.10. *Special marks*

To conclude, we should consider some marks of various nature that appear on the tablets. We will not consider those accidental marks caused by the contact of any solid object with the clay whilst wet, but only those deliberate traits which could have some meaning.

Due to its relevance for linguistic matters, the DIVIDER is probably the most important graphic mark. It typically consists of a small vertical stroke, clearly differentiated from the number 'one', with the function of separating '(phonetic) words' i.e. the phones grouped under one accent as stated before (§17.3.4.2.11), although sometimes there is a divider between a word and a following logogram. Such a trait allows us to know that the Mycenaeans not only had the notion of 'word'[220], but also grasped the concept of 'accentual' word, since the use of the divider shows that enclitic or proclitic segments are included in the same sequence as the word on whose accent they depended. Some instances were considered in §17.3.4.2.11. From the perspective of accounting, however, the crucial symbol is the checkmark × for monitoring entries. The tablet of Fig. 17.17 gives the total of sheep in the flock of *Ta-za-ro* at *U-ta-no* (48 wethers and 2 ewes) and has a checkmark at its lower right end.

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[219] Cf. DEL MONTE 1980.

[220] Obviously an intuitive entity, which linguists have much discussed, defining it as a linguistic universal. At Knossos, Hand 124-s arranged some tablets (Vd 62, 136, 138 and 7545) with vertical 'rules' with one word in every resultant square. These 'rules' apparently function as dividers and are transcribed by a colon (:) in the editions. See DUHOUX 2012, 216-218.

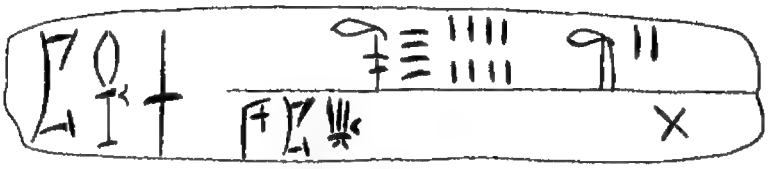

Fig. 17.17. Tablet KN Db 1097 in Hand 117
[drawn by L. Godart].

A 'punct' appears occasionally on the Mycenaean documents and is usually without significance, but on KN K(1) 740, large dots after **255* (on .3), before **207*^{VAS} (on .4) and before *ZE* (on .5) seem to play the rôle of substitutes for the logogram for bronze. Other instances still defy interpretation: a small circular mark, which is apparently deliberate, appears on KN Dd 1376 between *po-me* on .B and OVIS^{m} on .A (Hand 117) and a deliberate vertical mark appears on KN Da 1396.A, in the same Hand, between OVIS^{m} and 100. The function of these marks remains unknown.

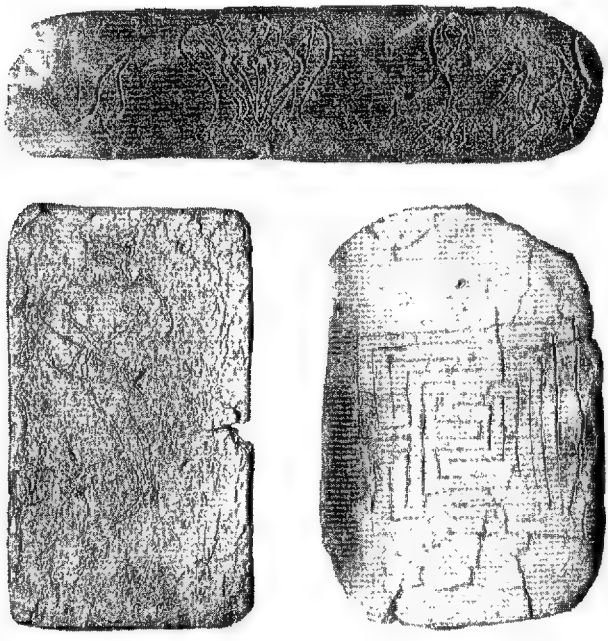

Fig. 17.18. Mycenaean sketches

The Mycenaean lancet-shaped stylus would occasionally need to be sharpened and there is an example of the testing of the sharpness of a stylus on a corner of a document on PY Tn 316 — the writer began to test it using the syllabogram sequence *di-we-si-po-ro-ti-mi-to-*, the Mycenaean *iroha*, described above in §17.3.4.1.

Lastly, from an artistic and human point of view, occasional drawings and sketches show us the agility with which the Mycenaean writers could handle their styluses on clay, filling idle time during gaps in the flow of information to be recorded, possibly prompted by ambiance.[221] The Fig. 17.18 shows the Gem-Engraver's Sketch from Knossos (top), the Dancer from Mycenae (MY Oe 106*v*., bottom left) and the Labyrinth from Pylos (PY Cn 1287*v*., bottom right).

[221] PALAIMA 1992.

§17.4. Appendix: The writing of delabialized labiovelars in Mycenaean

In close contact with /u/, a labiovelar was delabialized perhaps already in PIE times (see below). However, there are some cases in which delabialization is never attested in Mycenaean and the labiovelar was preserved distinctly in writing:

A) Enclitic connective *k*^{w}*e* following the negative particle in *o-u-qe* KN Sd 4401+ (Hand 128); PY Aq 64.3.4 (Hand 21), Eb 149.1 (Hand 41), Ep 539.7+ (Hand 1), Va 15.1 (Class ii), cf. poss. *o-u-qe-po*[KN Le 641.1 (Hand 103), if a division *o-u-qe po*[is intended.
Though we are dealing with accentual words, the morphemic boundary before the clitic prevents the phonetic change.

B) Second members of compounds in *-qo-ta* (variant *-qo-to*):[222]

1. men's names:
   a-tu-qo-ta KN B(5) 799.8 (Hand 104) (cf. *a-tu-qo-te-ra-to* KN V[7] 1523.4b [Hand 101])
   e-u-qo-ne PY Vn 130.13 (Hand 1) dat., could be a shortened name from e.g. **e-u-qo-ta* antonym of **du-qo-ta*
   e-u-ru-qo-ta KN V(2) 147.2 (Hand 124-B)
   po-ru-qo-ta PY Cn 40.4 (Hand 21), 437.2 (Hand 1), Jn 845.2 (Hand 2); variant form *po-ru-qo-to* KN Da 1137.b (Hand 117); PY An 128.2 (Hand 42).

2. appellatives:
   qo-u-qo-ta KN L(4) 480.b (Hand 208)
   su-qo-ta PY Ea 822; gen. *su-qo-ta-o* PY Ea 59.3+ (Hand 43)
   N.B. — The labiovelar of those forms is to be explained by the analogical influence of other compounds in which the absence of delabialization was regular; the same situation is observed in the first millennium Greek, see §17.3.2.1.1 *sub* **g*^{w}*eh*$_3$-.

C) Names attested at Knossos, perhaps of non-Greek stock:
ki-nu-qa Ap 618.1 (Hand 103)
and a number of names showing the same sequence …*-tu-q*…, perhaps with intervening nasal resonant:
ku-tu-qa-no Ap 639.9 (Hand 103), Da 1161.B (Hand 117)
po-ro-tu-qo-no Vc(1) 54 (Hand 124, Stylus 3)
tu-qa-ni-ja-so Db 1279.B (Hand 117); Np(2) 5721 (Hand 134).

D) The unique instance of the Cretan place-name *u-qa-mo* Mc 4454.B (Hand 132) may be disposed of if it represents either an error or a blending for *u*<*-ta-no*>, better than considering it an early instance of Cypriot *u-* for /epi/.

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[222] Although **du-qo-ta vel sim.*, is implicit in derivative *du-qo-te-ja* TH Of 27.2 (Hand 303), contiguity is only graphic, since a /s/ is intervening, cf. Δύσβατος.

A good number of delabialized labiovelars are already attested in the Mycenaean texts and are written with signs of the dorsal series (*ka ke ki ko ku*). They are collected below under the relevant roots:

g^{w}eh$_{2}$- 'to go', prefixed zero-grade forms (**g^{w}h$_{2}$-u-*) with **pres°* or **prei°* *pe-re-ku-ta* PY An 172.2 (Hand 1)
→ first member in the compound *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka* PY Va 15.2 (Class ii) (García Ramón 1985, 61ff.), cf. Dor. inscr. πρειγυς.

g^{w}en-ā- 'woman', alph. Gr. γυνή
dat. plur. *ku-na-ki-si* TH Av 100.2 (Hand 304), Gp(1) 200.2 (Hand 306?)
→ derivative *ku-na-ja* as a description of a vessel PY Ta 711.3 (Hand 2) and recently as a description of makers of bandages (?) VO X 1.2 (Skafida *et al.* 2011).

h$_{1}$weg^{wh}- 'to preach' > metathesized ***h$_{1}$ewg^{wh}-***
e-u-ke-to-qe PY Eb 297.1 (Hand 41), Ep 704.5 (Hand 1) 'and she declares'
cf. alph. Gr. εὔχεται
MN *e-u-ko-me-no* PY Jn 725.23 (Hand 2) and poss. KN F(1) 7748.2 (Hand 124)
MN *e-u-ka-no* PY Un 1320.8 (Class ii); dat. after *pa-ro* which makes the interpretation /Euk^{h}ānōr/ (Heubeck 1960, 257) difficult.
Action nouns written by different scribes at MY: *o-u-ka* and *o-u-ko* 'declaration'.

h$_{3}$nog^{wh}- 'nail' (with *o* > *u* by Cowgill's Law) ὄνυξ
o-nu KN Od(1) 681.a (Hand 103), *o-nu-ka* sing. KN Ld(1) 584.2+ (Hand 116), Od 485.b (Hand 115), plur. *o-nu-ke* KN Ln 1568 *lat. inf.*.b (Hand 103), M 683.1b (Hand 103), Od(1) 682.1 (Hand 103), Ws 1703.γ 'braid?'
→ second member in compounds: *po-ki-ro-nu-ka* KN Ld(1) 579.a+ (Hand 116), L 564, 590.1 (Hand 103), 9003.1, 9670.1 and *re-u-ko-nu-ka* KN Ld(1) 571.b+ (Hand 116), L 590.2 (Hand 103) 'with variegated/white braids'
→ derivative name in *-ēus*, dat. *o-nu-ke-wi* TH Oh 206.2; feminine *o-nu-ke-ja* PY Ab 194 (Hand 21), gen. *o-nu-ke̯-ja̯-o* PY Ad 675 (Hand 23), description of textile female workers.

k^{w}el- 'to turn'; reduplicated form **k^{w}e-k^{w}l-*
→ derivative MN name in *-ēus*, *ku-ke-re-u* PY Jn 845.12 (Hand 2), /Kuklēus/
→ second member in compounds:
qo-u-ko-ro PY An 18.9 (Hand 11), 830.10+ (Hand 1), 852.1 (Hand 3), Nn 831.5 (Hand 1) and TI Ef 2; gen. *qo-u-ko-ro-jo* PY Ea 781 (Hand 43); cf. βούκολος 'cowboy' cf. perhaps also man's name]*u̯-ko-ro* KN As(1) 5609.2 (Hand 103), Xe 8546 (= 5610).1 (Hand 103) (but see below).

k^{w}i-? *o-u-ki-te-mi* KN V(2) 280.5 (Hand 124); the text contrasts *o-u-ki-* (once) and *o-u-* (four times). If *-ki* is to be interpreted as a form of **k^{w}is* (cf. *jo-qi hok-k^{w}id* from **yodk^{w}id*) as in Cowgill 1960, 347, we must assume a different treatment from *o-u-qe* (see above). Therefore, a postpositive particle *-k̂i* cf. **k̂y-ā-* (cf. Vine 2009a) is not excluded and is perhaps better.

nog^{w}- 'naked' metathesized **g^{w}on-mos* > **g^{w}om-nos* > alph. Gr. γυμνός (*o* > *u* by Cowgill's Law)
MN *ku-mo-no* poss. /Gumnos/ KN Dk(1) 945.b (Hand 120)
MN *ku-mo-no-so* poss. /Gumn-orsos/ 'Nude-arse' KN Da 1313.B (Hand 117).

Sug^{w}rit- A place-name of probably non-Greek origin is attested at Knossos: *su-ki-ri-ta* Da 1091*v*.1+, Db 1324.B+, Df 1325.B, Dn 1092.2, Dv 5232.B (all in Hand 117); loc. plur.? *su-ki-ri-ta-pi* Dl 47.2; adjective *su-ki-ri-ta-jo* B(3) 8006 (Hand 106); related man's name *su-ki-ri-to* As(2) 1516.12 (Hand 101). The name is later spelled as Σύβριτα and that variation could point to an earlier labiovelar.

****wl̥k^{w}o-*** 'wolf' metathesized by taboo? into ****luk^{w}o-***, alph. Gr. λύκος
MN *ru-ko* /Lukos/ PY Pn 30.4 (Hand 2); derivatives *ru-ki-ja* /Lukʲas/ An 724.13 (Hand 1) and *ru-ki-jo* /Lukʲos/ Gn 720.2 (Class i), Jn 415.11 (Hand 2), all used as names (?) or ethnics at Pylos.
→ first member in compounds:
PN *ru-ko-ą$_2$-ke-re-u-te* PY Jn 415.1 (Hand 2)
MN *ru-ko-u-ro* PY Es 644.10+ (Hand 1), with a variant spelling in a different Hand *ru-ko-wo-ro* PY Es 650*v*.1 (Hand 11). We are possibly dealing with a case of notation of /wr/ as /lwr/ or /wlr/. Hand 1 consistently adopts the spelling with diphthong …*o-u-ro* (*si-no-u-ro* Cn 285.8, *so-u-ro* En 609.12), as also do Hands 2 (*ma-no-u-ro* Jn 605.7+) and 41 (*so-u-ro* Eo 224.2), whereas Hand 11 prefers for the resonant cluster a spelling also allowed in initial position (*wa-ra-pi-si-ro*, *wa-ra-wi-ta*, etc., *we-re-ne-ja*, *wi-ri-no*, *wi-ri-za*, etc., *wo-ro-ma-ta*, *wo-ro-ne-ja*, etc.). The structure of the name is puzzling and the reference to PN Αυκουρία is misleading (the second member may belong to either οὐρά 'tail' < **h$_1$ers-* or οὐροί 'furrow, frontier' < **werH-w-*).
→ possible second member in compound: *na-ma-ru-ko* PY Cn 1287.3 (Hand 31), but first member unexplained (a juxtaposition /na-ma#lukos/ is just possible), cf. Αὐτόλυκος etc. MN *qa-ru-ko* MY Au 657.9+ (Hand 62) could be another case of such a kind of compound, but an interpretation as Φάρυκος seems more appropriate (MN]-*ru-ko* KN V <1631>.2 could be reconstructed as]*qa-ru-ko*).

§17.5. Glossary of some selected technical terms

For the meaning of [ ], / /, < >, { }, *, °, > and <, see §17.6.

Affricates are stops in which the release of the constriction is modified to include a period of frication; they are not normally treated as sequences of a stop and a fricative. Voiceless [ʧ] is common, but voiced [ʤ] is also well attested. English examples: *ch-* /ʧ/ in *chip* or *j-* /ʤ/ in *just*. Greek zeta (ζ) at some stage may have been pronounced as an affricate [dz].

Allophone: An allophone is a context-bound phonetic variant of a phoneme (a phoneme is the smallest distinct unit in the sound system of a language). For instance, in English the words *pin* and *spin* both include a /p/ phoneme, but initially before a vowel this is pronounced as an aspirated [pʰ], while internally after an /s/ this is [p], not aspirated. We say that in English [p] and [pʰ] are in complementary distribution and are allophones of /p/; no two words are distinguished by this contrast. In Ancient Greek, on the other hand, [p] and [pʰ] may distinguish words as in /ponos/ 'toil' and /pʰonos/ 'murder'; we say that Greek has two different phonemes /p/ and /pʰ/.

Apical: An apical consonant is produced by obstructing the air passage with the apex (i.e. the tip) of the tongue. In English, /d/ and /t/ are apical-alveolar stops.

Coda: see syllable.

Compound: Mycenaean, like Greek in general, has both simple and compound words; the first element of a compound is normally an uninflected stem: *to-ko-so-wo-ko* /tokso=worgos/ 'maker of arches' is formed from /tokso°/ and /°worgos/. If we want to discuss separately the various elements of a compound, we use the diacritic °, which marks the end of the first member of the compound and the start of the second member. Compounds are normally formed from two nouns, or a noun and a verbal element (as in the example above), or a preposition/preverb and a noun or a verb. When two independent elements are joined in a compound with a single accent instead of the two earlier accents, we speak of univerbation, a term which can also be used for the juxtaposition of two or more terms in a phrase which acquire a single accent (cf. alph. Gr. /Peloponnēsos/, interpreted as derived from the genitive /Pelopos/ and the noun /nēsos/. In Mycenaean the term can be used loosely when two written words are not separated by a word divider. See also Hypostasis.

Demarcative: see word.

Depalatalization: see Palatalization.

ENCLITICS and PROCLITICS are unaccented words (clitics) which are accentually linked to the preceding (enclitics) or following (proclitics) accented word. In English the article *the* at the start of a sentence is normally proclitic and the pronoun *him* within a sentence is enclitic. In Ancient Greek /ek/ 'from' is normally proclitic and /te/ 'and' is enclitic.

EPENTHESIS: An intermediate sound may be inserted between two adjacent sounds as in Ancient Greek /ambrotos/ from */amrotos/. We call the phenomenon EPENTHESIS and we refer to the new segments as EPENTHETIC consonants or vowels.

FRICATIVES: consonants which do not have a complete closure like the stops (*q.v.*) and are articulated with friction. In English contrast the labiodental fricative /v/ (as in *vein*) with the bilabial stop /b/ (as in *bane*) and the resonant or glide /w/ (as in *wane*). In Ancient Greek the only fricative is the sibilant /s/.

GLIDE: We call GLIDE a non-phonemic transition sound between two phonemes. Alphabetic Greek examples: the Sikyonian MN or ethnic Σεϙυϝόνιος (= Σεκυώνιος), with two glides: ϝ (= [w]) between υ and ό; ι (= [j]) between ι and ο. These are rare spellings; in most alphabets, including the Greek one, glides are not normally written even if they are regularly pronounced. Linear B, however, has regular spellings like *tu-wo* for /t^{h}u^{w}os/ or *po-ti-ni-ja* /potni^{j}a/ where the [w] and [j] glides are indicated. GLIDE is also used for sounds which resemble transitional glides but may have phonemic function such as /w/ and /j/ as in English *wine* and *yes*.

GLOTTAL: A place of articulation linked to the vocal chords or the glottis (the space between the vocal chords). A complete closure of the vocal chords when released yields a so called GLOTTAL STOP [ʔ] frequently found before vowel at the start of German words or between vowels in some local pronunciations of British English. A very slight narrowing which leads to a form of air turbulence yields an [h] sound (a glottal fricative) as in English *hot*.

GRAPHEME: The smallest functional unit of a script. A grapheme subsumes a series of variants, e.g. in English capital or italic <i, *i*, I, *I* > are all variants of the grapheme {i} or <i>. However, in this book the Mycenaean graphemes are written in italics and not between the conventional { } or < > brackets; thus we refer to the Mycenaean sign (or grapheme) *pa*, though this may have different shapes and sizes.

HYPOSTASIS: Sometimes compounds (*q.v.*) are formed from prepositional phrases redefined with further suffixes; cf. Gr. ἐνάλιος 'in the sea' from *ἐν ἅλα or *ἐν ἁλί. In this case we speak of Hypostasis and of a Hypostatic Word.

LABIALIZED: Several Linear B syllabograms (e.g. *dwe*) show initial clusters formed by an apical stop and the [w] semivowel. They are conventionally called LABIALIZED, since [w] is a labial sound, in the sense that it is characterized by lip rounding. It is often assumed that in the Minoan syllabary some at least of these signs reflected sounds with a labial secondary articulation.

LABIOVELARS: Proto-Indo-European had a whole series of so called LABIOVELAR stops indicated with $*k^w$, $*g^w$, $*g^{wh}$ (cf. Latin <qu> in e.g. *quattuor*). These are consonants with two places of articulation, which begin as a velar and end with a [w] glide. The PIE labiovelars developed in various ways in the different Indo-European languages. In Greek they merged with other sounds at an early pre-alphabetic date but in most environments Mycenaean preserved them as a separate series (spelled *qa*, *qe*, *qi*, *qo*), though we cannot be absolutely certain about their pronunciation.

LARYNGEALS is the conventional name for some sounds reconstructed for the PIE language which developed in different ways in the later languages. Their exact phonetic nature is disputed, and their number is also controversial, but they are normally assumed to have been laryngeal or pharyngeal sounds and to have influenced the pronunciation of the adjacent vowels, changing their quality and/or lengthening them. They are normally indicated with $*h_1$ (the [e]-like laryngeal), $*h_2$ (the [a]-like laryngeal), $*h_3$ (the [o]-like laryngeal) or with h_x when the presence of a laryngeal is assured but we are not certain about its type. It is disputed whether the laryngeals were glottal stops, fricatives or resonants but they may be continued by both consonants (Hittite <ḫ>, <ḫḫ>) and vowels (e.g. Greek /patēr/ and Sanskrit /pitā/ < PIE $*ph_2tēr$ 'father'). The term *schwa* (ə) is often used either as an alternative to laryngeal or to indicate the laryngeal antecedent of later vowels: $*ph_2ter$ and $*pə_2tēr$ or simply $*pətēr$ are equivalent reconstructions from the point of view of the outcome.

LOGOGRAMS are signs, mostly pictorial, each of which corresponds to one specific word of the language ('tree', 'wine', etc.). In Linear B, they do not provide any information about the phonetic nature of these words and they are conventionally rendered by Latin words or their abbreviations, e.g. VIR 'man', MUL(*ier*), 'woman'. Logograms may be used by themselves in their basic form (the so-called MATRIX) or may be further defined by other components (an additional logogram or a syllabic sign), as in e.g. OVIS^{f}, 'female sheep' or ROTA+*TE*, a *te-mi-dwe* type of wheel.

MATRIX: see LOGOGRAMS.

NUCLEUS: see SYLLABLE.

OBSTRUENTS are consonants characterized by a complete or partial obstruction of the air flow in the mouth or the nose. The term refers to stops, fricatives

and affricates (*q.v.*) like English /d/ (in 'do'), /v/ (in 'van') or /dʒ/ (the first segment in 'just') and is contrasted with resonants and glides.

ONSET: see SYLLABLE.

PALATALIZATION: Proto-Greek inherited a number of clusters of consonant and [j]; at different stages these probably yielded a complete series of palatalized consonants of the [tʲ], [kʲ] etc. type with two places of articulation as in Russian. In their turn these evolved further sometime yielding affricates like the palatal [tʃ]. The coarticulation was later lost and we speak of a process of DEPALATALIZATION.

PHONEME: see ALLOPHONE.

PRENASALIZED stops are phonetic sequences of nasal plus stop (notated ^{m}b, ^{n}d, ^{ŋ}g) which behave like single consonants.

PROCLITICS: see ENCLITICS and PROCLITICS.

REFERENT: Any entity of the real or imaginary world designated by a word is a REFERENT.

RESONANTS (also SONANTS or SONORANTS): speech sounds that are produced with continuous air flow in the vocal tract. They include the liquids [l, r], the nasals [m, n] (but see below *s.v.* STOPS), and the GLIDES [j] and [w], the so called *yod* and *wau*. In PIE and Proto-Greek a resonant could be syllabic, i.e. form the nucleus of a syllable just like a vowel, but could also form the onset or the coda of a syllable like a consonant (hence the terms semivowel and semiconsonant).

STOPS or PLOSIVES: consonants articulated with a temporary block of the airflow, as in Greek /p, pʰ, b, t, tʰ, d, k, kʰ, g/. Nasal sounds, like [m, n] for which the air may be obstructed in the mouth but flows through the nose, are sometimes referred to as stops, but are resonants (see *s.v.*).

SYLLABLE: a syllable is a phonological unit which includes a NUCLEUS which is either a vowel or a resonant. It can optionally have ONSETS preceding the nucleus and/or CODAS following the nucleus. In English *kin* /kɪn/, /ɪ/ is the nucleus, /k/ the onset and /n/ the coda. Normally the onset and the coda have lower sonority than the nucleus. Syllables with a coda like /kɪn/ are called CLOSED, while OPEN syllables have an optional onset and a nucleus but no coda (as English *you* /ju:/). The syllabic division of phonology may or may not coincide with that of orthography.

'TRANSACTIONAL SIGNS': a conventional name for some recurrent single signs found in Linear A documents. They are seen as a kind of abbreviation which specified the nature of the recorded transaction. Linear B too has various signs with a similar function, which are certainly abbreviations, as e.g. *o* for *o-pe-ro*, 'debt, due'.

UNIVERBATION: see COMPOUND.

WAU: originally the name of the Phoenician letter from which the Greek letter *F*, digamma, derived. It is often used to refer to a phoneme, the semivowel /w/ which Greek inherited from PIE and slowly abolished, though it was preserved in the earlier stages (including above all Mycenaean).

WORD: classical Greek inscriptions do not distinguish words and do not mark the accents. Linear B does not mark the accent either but uses the so called word divider, a small vertical bar, to separate sequences of signs. These may correspond to a single word (e.g. *i-qo* 'horse') or to a series of unaccented items and one accented form, here in bold (***da-mo**-de-mi* /**dāmos** de min/ '**people** but her'; *o-**u**-**di-do-si*** /ou **didonsi**/ 'not **they-give**'). In general the word divider marks an accentual unit, i.e. a phonological word, rather than a grammatical word or a semantic unit. Occasionally two accented words which are closely linked – syntactically or semantically – are not separated: *a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja* /anemōn hi̯erejāi/ 'to the priestess of the winds'. In some languages it is not easy to distinguish between two adjacent words which form a compound, i.e. a single word (like English *blackbird*), and two words which form a phrase (English *a black bird*); in Greek there are a number of DEMARCATIVE features including inflection, accentuation, consonants allowed in word final position, etc.

YOD: originally the name of the Phoenician letter from which the Greek alphabetic letter iota derived. Often used to refer to a sound, the semivowel [j] found e.g. in English *yes* (and occasionally also rendered with [y]). In alphabetic Greek [j] survived only as a transitional glide between the [i] vowel and other vowels. In Mycenaean the [j] glide is frequent but it is disputed whether [j] still has phonemic status.

YODIZED signs: some Linear B syllabograms occur in words which etymologically had clusters of resonants and [j] (*yod*) or labial and [j] (*yod*). These syllabograms are described as YODIZED in order to emphasize that they originally were combinations with *yod* and to avoid the question of whether in our texts they were still palatalized, already depalatalized or fully-palatalized. The Linear B syllabogram **62* originally represented [pje], not a palatalized labial /pʲe/ or /pʾe/, but, at the time of our surviving texts, it had evolved further, was already depalatalized and had the value /pte/.

§17.6. Main abbreviations and sigla

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
Aeol.	Aeolic
Akk.	Akkadian
all.	allative
alph.	alphabetic
Arm.	Armenian
Boeot.	Boeotian
C	Consonant
ca	*circa* ('around')
cf.	*confer* ('compare')
CH	Cretan 'hieroglyphic' script
CS	'Classical' Cypriot syllabary
dat.	dative
Dor.	Doric
EL	Eleusis
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
GN	god's name
Gr.	Greek
Hitt.	Hittite
Hom.	Homeric
HT	Haghia Triada
HV	Aghios Vasileios
i.e.	*id est* ('that is [to say]')
ibid.	*ibidem* ('in the same place')
IE	Indo-European (extant language)
IK	Iklaina
instr.	instrumental
Ion.	Ionic
KH	Khania
KN	Knossos
LA	Linear A
Lat.	Latin
lat. inf.	*latus inferius* ('lower side')
lat. sin.	*latus sinistrum* ('left side')
lat. sup.	*latus superius* ('upper side')
LB	Linear B
Lesb.	Lesbian
loc.	locative
MID	Midea
MN	man's name
MY	Mycenae
nom.	nominative
non liquet	'it is not clear'
OE	Old English

OHG	Old High German
per	for
perf.	perfect
PH	Phaestus
PIE	Proto-Indo-European (reconstructed language)
plur.	plural
PN	place-name
poss.	possibly
prob.	probably
Proto-Gr.	Proto-Greek
PY	Pylos
q.v.	*quod vide* ('which you should look at')
s.v.	*sub voce* ('under the word')
scil.	*scilicet* ('namely')
sing.	singular
Skt.	Sanskrit
sub	under
TH	Thebes
TI	Tiryns
V	vowel
Ved.	Vedic
vel sim.	*vel similia* ('or the like')
vs	*versus* ('in contrast to')
WN	woman's name
??	after a syllabogram/logogram: its transliteration is not officially approved
~	opposite to
Ø	consonant 'zero'
/ /	slashes (/ /) are used to mark phonemes or symbols treated as phonemic as in /pɪn/. See §17.5 *s.v.* ALLOPHONE.
[ ]	outside Linear B texts, square brackets ([ ]) are used to mark phonetic symbols as in English [pʰɪn] (pronunciation of *pin*); the symbols most used are those of the IPA (International Phonetic Association).
< >	in Linear B texts, pairs of angle brackets (< >) enclose signs that were presumably left out by the scribe.
< or >	outside Linear B texts, single angle brackets (< or >) mean respectively 'comes from' (<) or 'becomes' (>).
< > and { }	these brackets are normally used to indicate written signs. See §17.5 *s.v.* GRAPHEME.
{{ }}	outside Linear B texts, pairs of curly brackets ({{ }}) enclose sequences considered as inserted superfluously in the inscription.
▫	end of the first member or beginning of the second member of a compound
*	in historical linguistics (and in this volume) an asterisk (*) indicates a reconstructed unattested form. In linguistics in general it indicates an ungrammatical form.
†	is used in lieu of an asterisk (*) to mark reconstructed Mycenaean words, when these begin with an untransliterated syllabogram, which bears an asterisk of its own.
+	after one or more references points to further unlisted occurrences.

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CHAPTER 18

LINEAR B AND HOMER*

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§18.1. INTRODUCTION

> We need not... be surprised if excavation or some casual find in Greece gives us an early document — a letter, or a literary text, a history or a poem — from some long-forgotten forerunner of Homer.
> (WACE 1956, xxxiii)

> Some passing shepherds ... opened it in search of treasure, but found instead documents of lime-bark inscribed with letters that were unintelligible to them... [Nero], believing that the letters were Phoenician, called in Semitic experts, and they ... forthwith proceeded to interpret them. On learning that they were the memoirs of one of the ancients who had been present at the siege of Troy, Nero further commanded that they should be translated into Greek, and placed the work in his Greek library under the title of 'Dictys'.
> (EVANS 1909, 109)

Prior to the discovery of the Aegean scripts and the later decipherment of Linear B, Homer's epic poems, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, loomed large in attempts to understand the history of Greece in the later second millennium BC. Even the development of archaeology as a seemingly objective, somewhat independent means of recovering *new* data for the late 2nd millennium BC depended initially on the inspiration and guidance of the Homeric texts. Times have changed considerably since the days of Heinrich Schliemann in the later 19th century and the decipherment of Linear B in 1952 initiated a period of extreme scepticism towards the value of the Homeric texts for the academic historian or

* The editors received a first version of this chapter in May, 2011.

[1] I thank the editors for their (almost infinite) patience and for their constructive comments on earlier drafts. I also thank Paul Halstead, Debi Harlan, John Moreland, Barry Powell and Sue Sherratt for acting as valuable sounding-boards on these issues for some time. Audiences in Sheffield, Zagreb and Göteborg have also helped me to clarify my thoughts. One of the disadvantages of written rather than oral composition is that errors remain as long as the medium is preserved. Nevertheless, I claim sole responsibility for any that remain in these pages, despite the best efforts of those mentioned above.

archaeologist. Now is a good moment to take stock of the situation and, in this chapter, I review the complex interplay between the different types of evidence and how they have been deployed in modern scholarship since the 18th century.[2] Such a review is necessary not only to understand how scholarship has reached the present status quo, but also so that we can better understand how the different strands of evidence can be interwoven. I hope to demonstrate that an understanding of the nature of these three data types — Homeric epic, Linear B (primarily) administrative documents and material remains — and of their contexts of production is crucial to developing the fuller understanding we seek of life in the Aegean world from the later second millennium to the early historical period (*ca* 1400 – 700 BC).

A historical view of the Homeric poems has typically concerned itself with two areas: the 'reality' (or otherwise) of the Trojan War that forms the dramatic context of the action of the *Iliad* and the background to that of the *Odyssey*, and, more generally, with the overall situation presented in both poems. The historicity of the Trojan War concerns us less in this chapter, since the Linear B documents can only be brought to bear on this question through exercise of the greatest degree of creative imagination. It is also a fraught topic, with a huge, sometimes polemical literature (cf. EASTON – HAWKINS – SHERRATT – SHERRATT 2002; HERTEL – KOLB 2003; LATACZ 2004; SHERRATT 2010). As long as the only source for the earliest history of Greece prior to the first Olympiad (776 BC) was the Homeric poems, it was impossible to challenge their historical veracity; this required independent data. As I argue below, such data arrived in the later 19th century with the development of pre-historic Greek archaeology and then in the 20th century with the Hittite documents, more relevant to the Troy question, and the decipherment of the Linear B documents. By the end of the 20th century, the question had reached a status quo in which a newly appreciated Troy and further readings of Hittite and Luwian documents, combined with more archaeological data, facilitated a more nuanced understanding of Aegean relations with western Anatolia, while a combination of archaeological and Linear B textual data had produced a much fuller understanding of the situation in Late Bronze Age Greece.

A basic distinction for this chapter, banal and obvious though it may seem, is between the *context* in which a text is produced and the period(s) to which that text refers (Fig. 18.1). In the case of the Linear B documents, the two are identical, since they were short-lived documents tightly bound to the current cycle of

[2] I leave aside details of the linguistic relationship between the language of the Homeric poems (our second oldest surviving Greek) and that of the Linear B tablets (our oldest); see RUIJGH 2011, 253-298.

administrative organisation of the palatial centres where they were found. The text of Homer, however, is different. It explicitly purports to describe an earlier time than its 'authorial present', a period we call the Late Bronze Age and earlier scholarly generations (possibly even Homer himself?) called the Heroic Age. But the Homeric texts as we have them were still composed in a particular *context* too, although the exact period is somewhat disputed (REECE 2005, for a summary of the status quo). Although there is something of a consensus for the later 8th century BC (e.g., CRIELAARD 1995; MORRIS 1986; 2001; POWELL 1991; SHERRATT 1990; 1992), the range is quite wide, from *ca* 850-800 BC (RUIJGH 2011, 260-261) to the mid-6th century BC (NAGY 1996, following an 'evolutionary' period of *ca* two centuries of oral performance). This distinction — between the period of production and the period of reference — is, I would argue, more significant than any generic differences between Homer's hexameter poetry and the sparse administrative prose of the Linear B documents. If we had preserved a 13th-century BC 'Homeric' text to set against the Pylos documents, then we could accommodate the two as products of the same historical conditions. But we do not, and in this fact lies the impetus for much of the discussion of Homer's texts that I summarise briefly below, with an emphasis on the historical rather than the literary; it is the essence of the 'Homeric Question' that has occupied Homeric scholars since the 18th century (cf. DAVISON 1962; TURNER 1997).

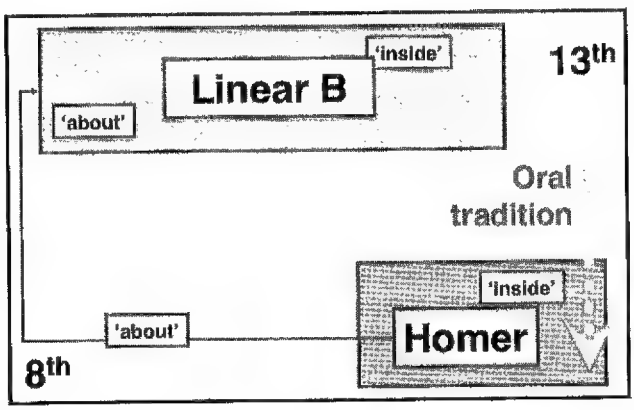

Fig. 18.1. Diagram showing the relationship between Linear B documents produced at ('inside') their period of reference ('about') and the Homeric corpus, produced at ('inside') a particular period, but with explicit 'historical' reference ('about') to another period, together with the link between the two periods afforded by the oral, epic tradition.

Appreciation of the basic distinction between texts 'of' and texts 'about' a particular period raises another issue: the status of texts in relation to our study of a particular period. As scholars in the modern world, we tend to think of texts as providing information 'for us' that we can take out of its ancient context and place within a modern analytical framework; *content*, in other words, is all important. This is true in the sense that, for example, the Linear B documents tell us that the palace at Knossos had access to the wool from about 100,000 sheep in 14th-century BC Crete, or that *wanax* was (almost certainly) the title of the ruler of Pylos at the end of the 13th century BC. However, there is another way in which texts are valuable to modern historians and archaeologists: in revealing how they were implicated in wider aspects of social practice — written, non-written, visual, performative, and so forth — at their time of creation; in this analysis, *context* is equally important. Even those who did not actively use writing in their daily lives were still implicated in a web of practice that involved writing (cf. MORELAND 2001, 26-27, 77-97). It is likely that a tiny percentage of the inhabitants of the Pylos polity could write, yet they appear to have complied with obligations that appear in written form on the Linear B documents. We do not understand the exact relationship between text and fulfilment of obligation, but we must assume that written recording was part of a broader web of social practice that in some sense ensured its fulfilment.

For the text of Homer we need to think of its production in similar ways, that is, as implicated in Homer's own world of social practice, a position most clearly and first articulated in recent times by Ian Morris in his article 'The Use and Abuse of Homer' (MORRIS 1986; 2001). Seen in this way, then, the *content* of the Homeric texts, which may well embody elements from a number of different periods, is less significant than the broader *context*, in which the poems in their totality and their performance had a cultural value. The notion of context also underpins Milman Parry's efforts to understand the *production* of Homeric poetry in his ethnographic fieldwork in Bosnia in the 1930s. Being able to read an oral performance after the fact is, almost by definition, a rare occurrence, made feasible in the modern world by the development of sound recording techniques. But Homer's orally-composed text was fixed in writing close enough to his own time (on whatever view one takes of the actual date of 'fixture') to allow us an insight into his own world, that of the 8th (7th, or early 6th) century BC. However, the fact that Homer stood at what was to be the end of a tradition allows us to trace that tradition backwards. The decipherment of Linear B, combined with the growth in understanding of the material world of the Aegean Late Bronze Age, now allow us to understand in new ways the relationship between a tradition of oral performance practice and the use of literacy.

In this chapter, then, I focus more on exploring the broader question of understanding the relation of the Homeric poems to the historical situation of the period of their 'dramatic date', the Aegean Late Bronze Age, as opposed to their 'authorial date' or date of performance. To cover this question effectively, I suggest, it is necessary to touch on the long and complicated history of the nature of the study of the Homeric poems within the wider field of classical studies. Such a review should allow us to understand how the various, sometimes contradictory positions have emerged. The fundamental issue, however, that I seek to address is how, if at all, the Homeric epics (and, in theory, other epics from the Greek cycle of the Heroic Age, as well as the poetry of Hesiod) are relevant to the use of Linear B in our attempts to improve our understanding of the Aegean Late Bronze Age world.

§18.2. Homeric questions, belief and disbelief — an outline history of historical interpretations of the Homeric poems

Within 'Homeric' scholarship, leaving aside literary criticism of the poems, there are two major strands: first, explorations of the *nature* of the Homeric text and how it was produced, and, second, attempts to understand the 'world' of Homer, both material and social. Within the latter, the identification of a 'reality' in relation to the Homeric poems revolves around two issues: the historicity of the Trojan War and the more general reality of the world of the poems as a whole. In the case of the first major strand, the discovery of written documents in the Aegean at the end of the 19th century and the decipherment (in 1952) of those in Linear B as notating an early form of Greek were significant, since the absence of writing in the poems was a key feature of discussions of the text, particularly from the 18th century onwards.

That a single poet, Homer, composed both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* was the predominant opinion in Antiquity, although there was an Alexandrian school of 'separators' (χωρίζοντες) who maintained that they were by different poets (e.g., Jebb 1887, 103-104; Davison 1962, 240, 261, n. 19). The separation of Homer as a bard from the time of the events about which he sang was universally recognised in Antiquity (e.g., Herodotos 2.53.2 [date of Homer]; 2.145.4 [date of Trojan War]; cf. Forsdyke 1956). However, despite this separation, Homer's works were regarded, from Antiquity to the 17th century of our era, as faithful representations of early Greece. The quotation from Evans at the head of this chapter draws on the preface to Diktys of Crete's *Diary of the Trojan War* (e.g., Meister 1872), a work that exists in Greek in fragmentary 3rd-century AD papyri, but is more fully known in a 4th-century Latin translation.

It purports to be an account of the Trojan war by Diktys of Crete, a participant on the Greek side alongside Idomeneus. Although the material is described as 'lime-bark' (*philyra*; *tilia*), it is possible that the documents referred to in the quotation were clay Linear B tablets revealed by earthquake that were — with a certain degree of logic — 'read' as documents produced during the Age of Heroes. Whether or not the anecdote surrounding their discovery is true, it reflects the acceptance in Antiquity of the Trojan stories as history, not fiction, as well as a desire for more contemporary documents of the period. Ironically, if the story of the Neronian discovery is true, then the documents may well have belonged to the Late Bronze Age, but they were unlikely to have contained anything other than palatial records, if they were written in the Linear B script.

Homer's works were always important in the 'canon' of classical literature, but critical analysis in the modern era of both their content and context — what has come to be known as the 'Homeric question' (cf. DAVISON 1962; TURNER 1997) — has its origins in 17th-century France in the context of a wider debate on the relative value of antiquity and modernity (e.g., PERRAULT 1688-1697), specifically in the work of the 'modernist' Abbé d'Aubignac, who argued that 'Homer' was not a single author (D'AUBIGNAC 1715, written *ca* 1665; cf. SIMONSUURI 1979, 19-56). In Britain this view on Homer was developed by Richard Bentley (1725 [1713]), while Giambattista Vico's 'Discovery of the True Homer' (1854 [1730], 422-461), in which he developed the notion of the Homeric poems as the product of a collective, rather than of a single author, was influential among continental scholars.

Textual criticism began in earnest in the 18th century, when the nature of texts like Homer's (and that of the Bible: cf. TURNER 1981, 140-154) was coming under scrutiny. Thomas Blackwell's *An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (1735) sought to understand Homer's poems in a different way, as a product of the environment — in the broadest sense — of Greece in Homer's time (cf. SIMONSUURI 1979, 99-107), rather as Johann Joachim Winckelmann was to claim for Greek art later in the same century. Robert Wood's *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer*, first published in 1769, drew not only on an examination of the Homeric texts (as had Vico's and Blackwell's) but also emphasised the importance of appreciating the particular *places* in which Homer's action had taken place (cf. SIMONSUURI 1979, 133-142). Wood had travelled in the Aegean and the Levant (cf. HUTTON 1927) and was among the first modern scholars to attempt a systematic interpretation of the geography of the Troad (WOOD 1775, 307-342). This topographical trend continued with other travellers such as William Gell (1804), Le Chevalier (1791; 1802), Spratt (see ALLEN 1998, 72-73), Maclaren (1822) and, of course, Frank Calvert, Schliemann's early collaborator (discussed, with references, in ALLEN 1998, 72-84; also LEAF 1912).

It was, however, Wood's analysis of Homer as a poet, emphasising an understanding *in context* and presenting him as a 'primitive', probably illiterate bard that influenced Homeric scholarship more (SIMONSUURI 1979, 133-142). Friedrich August Wolf developed these ideas in his *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, first published in 1795, a work that essentially framed the 'Homeric question' for modern scholarship (WOLF 1985; cf. TURNER 1997, 125-131). Enormously influential on the study of the Homeric text, Wolf's sub-title makes clear that this was an elucidation of the Homeric *text*, not his world: 'Concerning the original and genuine form of the Homeric works and their various alterations and the proper method of emendation'. Embedded in academic politics in Germany (cf. MARCHAND 1996, 16-24), Wolf (and other scholars, especially those concerned with the biblical text) sought to establish philology as a central discipline within the academic world of the university (cf. TURNER 1997, 131, 141-142).

In relation to Homer, Wolf succeeded and he was followed by a series of scholars who analysed the Homeric text in increasing detail, distinguishing themselves into two distinct 'camps': the 'analysts', who emphasised inconsistencies in the text to argue for multiple authorship and multiple original poems only later assembled in the works we possess, and the 'unitarians', who stressed the essential unity of the Homeric oeuvre (cf. TURNER 1997, 130-137). Perhaps the culmination of this strand of scholarship was von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf's *Homerische Untersuchungen* (1884), which took the analysts' criticism to its extreme, essentially stressing the poems' shortcomings as works of literature (cf. TURNER 1997, 137). In just over a century, Homeric scholarship had moved from the contextual view of Blackwell and Wood to one where the text was judged against modern, philologically-based standards derived from the study of literate texts, its composition removed from the period it described, the product of literary redaction.

Other than maintaining that Homer was the earliest Greek author, possibly belonging to a period before writing, the philologists were not much interested in history as such and the relation of Homer and his world to later periods. Eighteenth-century historians, like Temple Stanyan (1751 [1739]) and William Mitford (1784), did not engage in critique of Homer as a source, but used the texts as sources like any other author, as did Étienne Clavier (1809) at the beginning of the 19th century (cf. MORRIS 2000, 79-82). The 19th century was less favourable to Homer as a historical source, however, and his status came to be questioned, for example by Connop Thirlwall (1855 [1835]) and especially by George Grote in the first two volumes of his monumental *History of Greece*, first published in 1846 and revised shortly after, in 1849 (cf. MORRIS 2000, 83-84). Grote included a detailed study of the Homeric poems that presented a moderate 'analyst' position, in which he isolated a core *Achilleid*, later

elaborated and expanded (GROTE 1846 II, 159-277; cf. TURNER 1981, 143-144; 1997, 136, n. 27). As historical sources, however, he regarded Homer's works as of value in offering an insight into the Greek mindset, but not as a source for serious, systematic history:

> Though the particular persons and events, chronicled in the legendary poems of Greece, are not to be regarded as belonging to the province of real history, those poems are nevertheless full of instruction as pictures of life and manners; and the very same circumstances which divest their composers of all credibility as historians, render them so much the more valuable as unconscious expositors of their own contemporary society.
> (GROTE 1846 II, 79)

Homer was 'dealing with a past which never was present, — a region essentially mythical, neither approachable by the critic nor mensurable by the chronologer' (GROTE 1849 I, 59; cf. TURNER 1981, 142-143); effectively Greece could have no history before 776 BC, the first Olympiad.

In the meantime, classical archaeology, emerging from Antiquarianism and heavily influenced by Winckelmann's idealistic analysis of Greek art as a product of the peculiar environment of Greece itself (reminiscent of Blackwell's interpretation of Homer the poet) (WINCKELMANN 1764), was becoming subordinated to narratives defined by historical and literary scholars. The 'true task' of archaeology was to generate systematic, 'scientific' catalogues of material, highly detailed in description, but contributing little directly to an understanding of periods defined by textual study (cf. MORRIS 1994, 23-30). By definition this practice could only apply where texts existed; the Bronze Age was excluded.

This situation was transformed by an outsider to academic classical scholarship, Heinrich Schliemann. His excavations at Troy, commencing in 1870, and his subsequent explorations of Mycenae (1876), Tiryns (1876, 1884-5), Orchomenos (1880) and other sites, essentially conformed to the paradigm outlined above whereby material culture was made to support a textual narrative. The difference lay in the status of that textual narrative, which had been defined by philologists and historians alike as 'unreal', Grote's 'past which never was present'. Schliemann effectively made Homer's 'past present'; in theory, Grote's assessment of the texts as a source for 'life and manners' in Homer's own age could be linked to specific sites belonging to the time of Homer's narrative, even if their exact chronology remained somewhat vague. There were forthright comments from classical scholars about the implications of Schliemann's discoveries that emphasised the *reality* that they had now demonstrated lay behind the world of the poems. Walter Leaf wrote in the introduction to his *Companion to the* Iliad:

> The heroic world, as depicted in the poems, can no longer be supposed the product of a poet's fancy dwelling on the olden days and idealising them with imaginative exaggeration. The correspondence is too striking for that. It is no longer possible to doubt that the world which the poems describe was one which really existed in the place where they put it. Even in details the poems have received striking illustration from the remains of Mykenai.
> (LEAF 1892, 12)

Some years later, William Ridgeway, a maverick scholar who came to hold the Disney chair of archaeology at Cambridge, echoed Leaf's comments in his presidential address to the Royal Anthropological Institute:

> When Schliemann, at Mycenae, lifted the veil from a long-buried civilisation, he opened a new era in classical studies. The Germans, from the time of Wolff [*sic*] in 1788, followed by almost every scholar in this country, held that the works of Homer were based upon no material origin, and that they sprang almost purely from the frenzied imagination of the divine poet or poets... To the received theory Schliemann's discoveries dealt a fatal blow.
> (RIDGEWAY 1909, 15)

For the first time, then, the time about which Homer sang was directly accessible through an independent medium, material culture. Despite Schliemann's success, however, accommodating the finds from archaeological investigation to the Homeric texts was not as straightforward a matter as the comments above would suggest (see, for example, JEBB 1882 for a sceptical view). In the case of Troy, once it became clear — largely through Dörpfeld's systematic studies after Schliemann's death in 1890 — that there were several Troys, one on top of the other, the question arose of *which* was reflected in Homer's stories. Dörpfeld argued for Troy VI (BLEGEN 1962a, 385). More generally, the material culture that Schliemann revealed on the Greek mainland appeared so different from the idealised products that Winckelmann had so enthused over that some scholars had difficulty accepting it as Greek at all. Leaving aside the suggestions that the finds were Phoenician, or even Byzantine (JEBB 1887, 176-177), William Ridgeway published a long article arguing that they were products of the pre-Hellenic population, the Pelasgians (RIDGEWAY 1896). However, by the end of the century Tsountas, in the first synthetic account of the Mycenaean world originally published in Greek (TSOUNTAS 1893), was able to accommodate the finds and reconcile them as an early stage of later Hellenic culture:

> As the outcome of all these discoveries ... there stands revealed a distinct and homogeneous civilization... At first ... it was pronounced exotic and barbarous; but the wider the area laid under contribution ... the stronger has grown the evidence ... of its substantially indigenous and Hellenic character. To-day archaeologists generally, while allowing more or less for foreign influence, hold to this Hellenic view. (TSOUNTAS – MANATT 1897, 10-11)

Whatever his failings as an archaeologist, Schliemann had provided the first independent data against which to test the Homeric narrative, but the chronology was still somewhat fuzzy, as evidenced by his assumption that the Troy he found in 1870 — Dörpfeld's Troy II — was Priam's or that the Shaft Graves at Mycenae were the burial places of Agamemnon and his contemporaries (McDonald – Thomas 1990, 7-79; cf. Dickinson 2005, on the so-called 'face of Agamemnon'). As Aegean archaeology developed later in the 19th century (e.g., McDonald – Thomas 1990, 81-110), the refinement of the chronology of the second millennium BC through both stratigraphy and synchronisms with neighbouring cultures allowed a clearer understanding of the relationship between the 'dramatic date' of Homer's work and the date of its production. A crucial step was Flinders Petrie's (1890) demonstration that the latest phase of Mycenaean civilisation could be synchronised with the Egyptian 19th dynasty, placing the fall of Mycenae around 1200 BC, independently confirming one traditional chronology of the Trojan War, that of Eratosthenes, who had placed it in 1194-1184 BC. Petrie's chronology also opened up a larger gap between the end of the Mycenaean world and the beginning of the 'classical' *ca* 700 BC (cf. Morris 2000, 87).

At the end of the 19th century, then, philological debate had largely taken second place to historical interpretation of the Homeric poems that were considered to depict a Bronze Age world *ca* 1200 BC. However, a corollary of the philological confusion about whether there had been one, two, or many authors of the Homeric poems as preserved and the presence or absence of writing in their composition was that there were in theory different possible relationships of the poems to this newly established chronology. Richard Jebb, a sceptic on the significance of Schliemann's discoveries and writing before Petrie's dating, ruled out an 'oral transmission' of the poems and suggested that written transmission might have been possible as early as 950 BC, a date at which Wolf had insisted writing was impossible (Jebb 1887, 110-114; cf. Lorimer 1950, 127-128, n.1 for Wilamowitz' similar view of the date of the adoption of the alphabet). Walter Leaf, on the other hand, also perhaps unaware of Petrie, suggested that the poems had been composed in 'Achaian Greece' *ca* 1050 BC, only attaining a written form after a period of bardic transmission (Leaf 1892, 15-19). By 1906, however, Andrew Lang was able to mobilise the new discoveries of writing in the Aegean (see below, p. 198) and suggest a continuous written tradition, transliterated into 'Phoenician letters' no later than the 9th–8th centuries BC (Lang 1906, 313-316). That the date of a written composition could remain so open was a product of the dearth of early inscriptions known at the time: the 'Dipylon' oinochoe, for example, had only been discovered in 1880 and, in Lang's day, was dated either to the late 8th or 7th century BC (Lang 1906, 315-316; cf. Morris 2000, 87).

On the historical side, Walter Leaf summarised the status quo in *Homer and History*, his Harris lectures that would have been delivered at Northwestern University had the World War I not intervened:

> In the year 1795 Wolf published his *Prolegomenon*. Just a century later, in 1893, Dörpfeld uncovered the Mycenaean walls at Hissarlik. The two dates mark two definite epochs in the development of the Homeric Question. Wolf gave the nineteenth century to the philologist; the archaeologists have given the twentieth to the historian. We are standing at the beginning of a new era, and the old problems are taking an entirely new focus.
> (LEAF 1915, 1)

It is perhaps significant that (in order to make the distance in time closer to a century?) Leaf names Dörpfeld as the 'discoverer' of Mycenaean Troy, not Schliemann. He also implies that archaeology is merely a data-acquisition technique, its data to be delivered to 'historians' for interpretation, a view with which few archaeologists today would agree.

In some ways, the late-19th-century archaeology of the Aegean resembled that of Egypt, Mesopotamia and the coastal Levant, regions that had experienced extensive 'archaeological' exploration in search of the physical remains of civilisations known through the Biblical text (see, for example, LARSEN 1996 on the exploration of Mesopotamia in the 1840s-60s, and SILBERMAN 1982, on the history of exploration of the 'Holy Land'). As was the case with the 18th- and 19th-century philologists, Homer and the Bible, one could argue, were parallel in providing a narrative to new archaeological finds. However, there was one major difference between the Aegean and these regions which fell on the other side of the 'Orientalist' divide (cf. SAID 1978): in these areas new texts had been discovered in the original scripts and languages, Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Old Persian, Phoenician and so forth. Furthermore, most of these scripts had been deciphered by the end of the 19th century: Phoenician from 1754, Egyptian from 1822 and Old Persian from 1839, which offered a key to the other cuneiform scripts, including Babylonian and Assyrian (from 1857), Hittite and Hurrian, although decipherments of the latter two belong to the 20th century (POPE 1999, 60-117). The existence of a sizeable legible literature made the study of these regions qualitatively different from that of the Aegean until the end of the 19th century.

Before then the only texts in existence that could have described an Aegean Bronze Age world were the Homeric poems. Schliemann's extensive excavations had revealed no *contemporary* textual sources for the Late Bronze Age, a situation that was consistent with the prevailing philological view since Wolf that Homer's world was illiterate. (As an aside, one wonders how the field might have developed had Schliemann, and not Evans, been the first to excavate

Linear B texts *in situ*.) This textless picture changed as the century came to a close, because Arthur Evans had begun to identify one (or more) 'prae-Phoenician' writing systems originating from the island of Crete (EVANS 1894), and had in 1895 been shown by Antonios Tsakirakis a Linear B tablet from Kalokairinos's excavations at Knossos (KOPAKA 1992, 383; cf. EVANS 1909, 116-117; DUHOUX 2010, 50, n. 18). Then, in the early days of his first season of excavation at Knossos in 1900, Evans found more examples of writing in the script he called Linear B to distinguish it from two other scripts, Linear A and the so-called Cretan Hieroglyphic. He set out his understanding of the three systems and their relationships in the first volume (indeed the only one he himself saw through to publication) of *Scripta Minoa* (EVANS 1909).

Early in the 20th century, then, the Aegean Bronze Age had texts that were produced *at the time* and were not poems composed later *about* the Bronze Age, as Homer's had been (cf. Fig. 18.1). The potential existed, therefore, to compare actual written works of the time with the literary picture presented in the Homeric poems, in much the same way as, for example, Assyrian texts could be compared with Biblical accounts. But the Aegean documents were undeciphered, and would remain so for half a century. Prior to decipherment the mere existence of such texts did little to affect the way in which the Aegean Bronze Age was studied and interpreted. It was already clear to Evans, however, that the clay documents in Linear B were not continuous, literary texts, but 'accounts and inventories, and in nearly all cases … associated with numbers' (EVANS 1909, 47). Indeed, he gives a fairly accurate account of the numerical system and identifies some of the commodities listed (EVANS 1909, 38-54), even famously passing over in the process an obvious 'clue' to the decipherment in the association of the Linear B word *po-ro* with a logogram that clearly depicted an equid (CHADWICK 1967, 33-34; cf. DUHOUX 2008, 254). As long as a writing system existed, there was a possibility that epic had been recorded in other media, an idea still alive in Wace's mind fifty years later when he wrote the Preface to *Documents*[1] quoted at the head of this chapter. For Lang this explained how the works of Homer had been transmitted from the 13th to the 8th centuries BC — they were preserved in Linear B on papyrus before being transferred into the alphabet at the time of Homer (LANG 1906, 314).

One might have expected the discovery of Late Bronze Age documents on Crete to have had a profound effect on Homeric scholarship, but it does not appear to have done so. This paradox can probably be explained — partly, at least — by Evans's insistence on the priority of his Minoans and their essentially non-Hellenic nature, including a conviction — shared by Ventris until the moment of his decipherment — that all three Aegean scripts (Cretan Hieroglyphic, Linear A and Linear B) had notated pre- or non-Greek language(s). This position increasingly brought Evans into academic conflict with those

working on bringing order to the archaeological sequence of the Middle–Late Helladic mainland, notably Carl Blegen and Alan Wace (WACE 1956, xxii-xxx; cf. MCDONALD – THOMAS 1990, 195-291; FITTON 1995, 150-155).

The enthusiasm for pre-classical Greece and the reality of the Late Bronze Age clearly drew negative attention from the establishment in classical archaeology and in 1911 Percy Gardner mounted a spirited defence of the distinctiveness and superiority of classical Greek culture in response (GARDNER 1911). In 1912 Evans used his presidential address to the Hellenic Society to reply and outlined how he saw the Homeric epic as developing from a 'heroic cycle of Minoan origin' in a bilingual environment prior to the collapse of Mycenae; there was, he argued, continuity from the Mycenaean age to that of Homer (EVANS 1912). (As an aside, it is somewhat ironic that Wace, in his Preface to *Documents*[1], agrees with his archaeological rival in stressing again this continuity, much ignored by classical archaeologists of his day: WACE 1956, xxx-xxxi.) It is crucial to appreciate here that Evans saw everything on the mainland down to the destruction of Mycenae as belonging to a Minoan milieu, in which dominant 'Minoans' interacted with the local population, hence the term 'bilingual' (EVANS 1912, 283, 287). The examples of script found on the mainland (at the time only the painted signs on stirrup jars found at Tiryns) he saw as 'offshoots' of the Cretan scripts, indicating 'a dialect of the same language' (EVANS 1912, 282). He saw in examples of 'Minoan' art, such as the gold signets from the Shaft Graves, or the silver siege rhyton, scenes from such a 'Minoan cycle'. He concludes:

> Apart moreover from oral tradition we have always to reckon with the possibility of the persistence of literary records. For we now know that an advanced system of linear script [i.e., Linear B] was in vogue not only in Crete but on the mainland side in the latest Mycenaean period. (EVANS 1912, 294)

In this analysis Evans was followed by John Linton Myres in his Sather lectures delivered in 1927, who (perhaps echoing the 19th-century German philologists of the biblical text) suggested a 'Minoan archetype, for which Homer, or a Septuagint of Homers, was to compile eventually a more or less "authorised version" for Greek-speaking "Achaeans"' (MYRES 1930, 373).

A further independent element that also emerged in the inter-war period was knowledge of Hittite documents after Hrozný's decipherment in 1915. Not long afterwards, Forrer identified references to Aḫḫiyawa, which he linked with Homer's Ἀχαιοί, and names he interpreted as Greek, such as Ἐτεϝοκλέϝης (*'Tava-g(a)lavas'*) or Αἰϝολος (*'Ajavalas'*) (FORRER 1924). Although vigorously criticised by some Hittitologists (e.g. FRIEDRICH 1927; SOMMER 1932), these identifications were used by Myres as support for Mycenaean involvement in western Anatolia implying a historical truth behind the Trojan War story (MYRES 1930, 116-119; cf. also NILSSON 1933, 102-109).

§18.3. Anthropology of the Homeric text and the continuity of the epic tradition

Only three years after Myres's words above were published, centuries of scholarly debate about the nature of the Homeric poems — written, oral; the product of one, two, or many authors — began to be transformed by the work of two US scholars, Milman Parry and his student-assistant and successor, Albert Lord. Parry had completed two doctoral theses in Paris in 1928, in which he explored Homeric style, especially the use of what he called the 'traditional epithet' and the relationship between formulaic phrases and metre (Parry 1971, 1-239). In Paris he encountered the linguist Antoine Meillet, who had recently published a study on the Indo-European origin of Greek metre (Meillet 1923) and whom he acknowledges as one of his teachers in the Foreword to his first thesis, 'The Traditional Epithet in Homer' (Parry 1971, 1). According to Adam Parry, his son, Meillet's views were 'in harmony' with Parry's (Parry 1971, xxiii) and, indeed, Parry quotes Meillet's study on the predominance of 'formulae handed down from poet to poet' in Homeric epic (Parry 1971, 8-9; cf. Meillet 1923, 61). While in Paris, Parry was also exposed to the recent research of Matija Murko on living epic traditions in what was then Yugoslavia (cf. Murko 1990), as well as reading Wilhelm Radloff's work on similar practices in Central Asia (Parry 1971, xxiv, 439-441). After returning to the USA, Parry conceived the idea of doing fieldwork among living epic bards and spent the summer of 1933 and the year 1934-5 based in Dubrovnik recording and transcribing oral poetry among the *guslari* of Bosnia (Parry 1971, xxxv-xli, 465-478; Lord 2000, vii-xxiv).

The story is well known in Homeric scholarly circles, where Parry's and Lord's research transformed the debate about how the Homeric text had come into being (e.g., Foley 1997): ethnographic observation had provided an analogy for production of the Homeric text that made it as near certain as could be that it had been composed orally. Parry and Lord documented some poems comparable in scale to those of Homer and developed an understanding of how singers trained themselves to produce their poems. This was not an extraordinary feat of memorisation, as some had thought, but the acquisition of a special language and set of linguistic 'tools' (formulae, type-scenes and the like) that enabled 'composition-in-performance' (cf. Lord 2000, 5, 13-17). Parry and Lord found that the 'same' poem was performed differently on different occasions, even by the same singer, and also that taking time to record poems by dictation produced extraordinarily long and elaborate versions, as was the case with their great 'find', Avdo Međedović (Lord 1956; cf. Lord – Bynum 1974).

One implication of Parry and Lord's research was that Homer stood at the end of a long tradition of oral epic poetry. But the problem of how and when Homer's poetry came to be written down remained, although the timing had clearly been displaced from the Late Bronze Age to the historical period, some time after 800 BC (see REECE 2005 for a summary of the current scholarly status quo). This chapter is not the appropriate place to deal with the much-debated topic of the date of the poems as we have them, nor with the history of the text as we have it (for the former, see, e.g., JANKO 1982; for the latter, e.g., JANKO 1992, 20-38; HASLAM 1997). Parry and Lord's insights also problematised the literary criticism of the poems: how could techniques of criticism developed on written works be applied to oral poetry (cf., for example, FINNEGAN 1992; FOLEY 1988)? Many of the features used by the 'analysts' to argue for multiple poems and authorship could now be explained as features of an oral style. 'Analyst' scholarship suffered a severe blow as a result.

For historians and archaeologists the oral interpretation rationalised the transmission of the epic over the 500-year gap between the collapse of Mycenae and Homer's own age, removing the need either for a very early adoption of the alphabet or for continuous use of the Aegean scripts, for neither of which there was any direct evidence. Among the first to recognise this in print was Martin Nilsson, who not only indicated that Parry's work on the formula system represented '...the final refutation of the view that the poets composed their epics with the pen in the hand' (NILSSON 1933, 181), but also included a substantial chapter on the nature of epic traditions, drawing on comparative material as well as on the Greek tradition (NILSSON 1933, 184-211). Although this implication was not much taken up elsewhere before the Second World War, it became pretty much orthodoxy afterwards (see WEBSTER 1958; PAGE 1959; KIRK 1962; *Companion Homer*, 19-266). It had a secondary implication of throwing considerable importance on the intervening period, that had come to be known as a 'Dark Age' (cf. MORRIS 2000, 89), and led to renewed interest in this period that was only accessible through archaeology (see further below, pp. 207-208). What Parry and Lord's research could not pinpoint, however, was exactly when within that period the poems had taken their final form, a topic much discussed as our appreciation of life in the 'Dark Age' grew.

§18.4. CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE LINEAR B EVIDENCE AND THAT OF THE HOMERIC CORPUS

The discovery on the Greek mainland in 1939 of further Linear B documents by Carl Blegen at a site he named the 'Palace of Nestor', after Homer's legend-

ary character, further disturbed the orthodoxy, established by Evans, of a dominant Minoan culture in the Aegean, exacerbating the controversy that had grown up between himself and Wace and Blegen (who had developed a chronological scheme for the Helladic, mainland civilisation parallel to Evans's for the Minoan: WACE 1956, xxii-xxxx; cf. FITTON 1995, 150-165). Evans maintained that the Minoans had controlled the entire Aegean, colonising the mainland, until the destruction of the major mainland sites at the end of the Bronze Age. Blegen and Wace, on the other hand, argued that the balance of dominance had switched to the mainland in the later phases of the Late Bronze Age (Late Helladic / Minoan IIIA-B, *ca* 1400-1200 BC), signalled by a greater prominence of mainland styles of material culture, including ceramics and burial practices. In 1941, ironically the year of Evans's death, and eleven years before the decipherment of Linear B, Blegen suggested that Crete had been taken over by Greek speakers early in the 14th century BC (BLEGEN 1941, 11). For Hilda Lorimer, however, the Pylos documents did not indicate the presence of Greek speakers:

> Though they are still unpublished, much work has been done on squeezes taken from them, and the result is wholly unfavourable to any hope entertained that the language of the inscriptions might be Greek. If it were, from so great a mass of material some positive result must have been obtained by the 'greatest frequency' method. (LORIMER 1950, 123)

Lorimer was espousing a widely-held view, based on Evans's fervent advocacy of Minoan primacy, shared by many, not least by Michael Ventris himself, even in his famous work-note 20 (VENTRIS 1988, 327-331), that the language behind Linear B could not be Greek. However, the decipherment of Linear B by Ventris in 1952, only two years after Lorimer's words appeared in print, opened up the possibility of reading documents of the time and thus comparing what they said directly with the picture presented in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. At last there were extensive independent, textual data from the time *and* place of Homer's heroes both on the Greek mainland and on Crete.

At the time of the decipherment, Homer was very much in scholars' minds. In the second circular for a meeting held on 27 January 1954 of the newly-established 'Minoan Linear B Seminar' (later to become known as the Mycenaean Seminar), Webster posed 'problems' to be discussed under the following headings: 1. Archaeological; 2. Linguistic; 3. Economic; 4. Social; 5. Religious; and 6. Historical, specifically 'what light is thrown by the tablets in conjunction with other evidence archaeological and literary on a) Minoan civilisation, b) Mycenaean civilisation, c) Eastern contacts, d) Trojan War, e) Homer and the Epic cycle?'. Linguistic comparison was especially, and understandably, prominent (cf. *Documents*[1], 107; also RUIJGH 2011), and clearly

the hope existed that writing would have preserved a Late Bronze Age version of the epic, as cuneiform texts had various versions of the *Gilgamesh* epic (and other works) over two millennia (see, e.g., DALLEY 1989; GEORGE 1999). We can see this desire in Wace's comment from his Preface to the first edition of *Documents*, quoted at the head of this chapter (cf. also LANG 1906, 314).

Even as the decipherment was receiving its first scholarly presentation (VENTRIS – CHADWICK 1953), the historian Moses Finley, then based in the USA, had completed *The World of Odysseus*, a study of the historical context of the Homeric poems (FINLEY 1954). In it he had argued that the world about which Homer composed was not that of the Bronze Age, but that of the Dark Age, specifically the 10th-9th centuries BC (FINLEY 1954, 55; cf. MORRIS 2000, 91). His arguments were largely text-based, not archaeological, distancing Homer's world from that of the classical Greek *polis*, while also recognising its difference from the world of the Late Bronze Age. Reflecting his background in economic history and anthropology, particularly the work of Karl Polanyi (cf. MORRIS 2000, 91-92), Finley also drew on comparative evidence and, specifically in relation to the epic, he challenged the likely veracity of Homer's account by reference to the *Chanson de Roland* and other epics (FINLEY 1954, 54-55), a point he developed further, drawing on other epic parallels, in a debate with Caskey, Kirk and Page published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* in 1964 (FINLEY 1964).

Ventris and Chadwick's 1953 paper only appeared after the first edition of Finley's book had gone to press, but he added a comparison of the picture afforded by the Linear B documents with that developed in his book in a brief appendix to the 1956 edition published in the UK, where Finley had moved in 1955 (FINLEY 1956, 165-168; cf. WEBSTER 1957). The publication of a substantial number of Linear B texts, with commentary, in *Documents*[1] in 1956 enabled Finley to dismiss forcefully interpretations that took the Homeric poems as more or less faithful recollections of life in the Late Bronze Age in a review-article of the volume (FINLEY 1957a; 1982, 199-212). He saw in the Linear B documents evidence of a 'massive redistributive operation' (FINLEY 1957a, 135; 1982, 206) and regarded the Mycenaean palatial economy as a phenomenon never repeated in Greece and therefore not comparable to any later forms. The only valid analogies, he argued, could be with the 'palatial economies' of the 2nd millennium BC eastern Mediterranean and Mesopotamia. He rejected the value of the Homeric corpus: 'the discontinuity between the Mycenaean world and the Greek was so great that it is fruitless to look to the latter for guidance in the former' (FINLEY 1957a, 140; 1982, 210). He noted that Ventris and Chadwick agree, although they occasionally 'weaken' (FINLEY 1957a, 140, n. 2; 1982, 279, n. 48). His most trenchant criticism, however, appeared in an article published in the same year, in which he first of all points out that the

Homeric texts figured prominently in early interpretations of the Linear B documents, both linguistic and historical:

> From the very first publication announcing the decipherment of the Mycenaean tablets, discussion of those documents has been replete with references, parallels, analogies, arguments and echoes from Homer. The procedure has tended to be haphazard and arbitrary in the extreme: an odd passage from the *Iliad*, the appearance of a particular word or name in both the tablets and the poems, and possible etymological relations are noted when they seem to prove a point or suggest a meaning; or the absence of such identities is invoked as evidence. (FINLEY 1957b, 133; cf. 1982, 213)

Having reviewed the (lack of) evidence for continuity in the practice of inheritance and land tenure, he offers the following withering final assessment of Homer's 'value' in understanding the Late Bronze Age world:

> The Homeric world was altogether post-Mycenaean, and the so-called reminiscences and survivals are rare, isolated and garbled. Hence Homer is not only not a reliable guide to the Mycenaean tablets; he is no guide at all. (FINLEY 1957b, 159; 1982, 232)

This conclusion is consistent with his pre-decipherment account (FINLEY 1954), and, in his introduction to the revised edition of *The World of Odysseus*, published in 1978, he justified removing his earlier appendix, since he felt it no longer necessary: 'The decipherment of the Linear B tablets and archaeology together have destroyed the old orthodoxy' (FINLEY 1979, 10; cf. MORRIS 2000, 92).

Not all responses to the decipherment were as insistent on marking a clear distinction with the Late Bronze Age, but historical and literary studies were now compelled to include a comparison between the image presented by the Linear B documents and that in the Homeric poems. Unlike Finley's work, however, there was something of a desire to make the Linear B data and those of Homer conform to one another. Page, in his *History and the Homeric Iliad* (1959), took a rather negative view, summarising the Linear B documents and the differences in the picture they offered from that in Homer, stressing the controlling and negative nature of Mycenaean bureaucracy and the imperfection of our knowledge derived from the Linear B texts (PAGE 1959, 178-217). He attempted to unite the two major Greek sources, together with the evidence of the Hittite texts (PAGE 1959, 1-40) in relation to Troy, into a historically consistent picture, even suggesting that the 'Catalogue of Ships' in the *Iliad* was a more-or-less genuine Mycenaean 'document' (PAGE 1959, 118-177). The notion that the overall picture in Homer is consistent with that of Linear B — a Mycenaean world of separate kingdoms, but whose similarities in administrative style suggested cooperation — was also accepted by Kirk (1962) and Webster (1958; 1962). Webster's book charting the development of art and

poetry from the Bronze Age to the time of Homer included a comparison between the Linear B picture and that of Homer, between which he saw some similarities, notably in gift-giving (his interpretation of the Pylos Ta tablets) and in religious belief (WEBSTER 1958, 7-26). In the context of a broader study of Homer drawing on the Parry–Lord research, Kirk tended to see less in common and he was particularly disappointed at what he saw as the relatively low quantities of Greek in the Linear B texts (KIRK 1962, 23-39). Both he and Webster agreed on the transformation of the terminology of power and craft production, as well as emphasising the detailed and extensive investment in administrative recording.

Unlike the structural differences stressed by Finley, however, Page, Webster and Kirk tended to focus on obvious dissimilarities — the absence of writing, the scale of operations, the differences in military equipment, especially chariots — while seeing greater common ground. This general picture is borne out in the first *Companion to Homer* (WACE – STUBBINGS 1962), notably in Webster's 'Historical Commentary' on Homeric society (WEBSTER 1962). Kirk's comment at the end of his comparison between the Linear B and the Homeric world is revealing, since, although he agrees with Finley about the incompatibility of the Homeric and Linear B pictures, he inverts Finley's damning assessment quoted above, making Linear B deficient in shedding light on Homer: 'As a guide to the institutions described in the Homeric poems, and to the development of that poetry out of its traditional elements, they [i.e., the Linear B documents] may seem … distinctly disappointing' (KIRK 1962, 39).

It is no accident that the Homeric 'Catalogue of Ships' figured quite large in Page's book. As the number of archaeologically known Mycenaean sites grew, so it became possible to compare the Catalogue with sites on the ground. Thomas Allen's edition, published in 1921, had, in addition to providing a revised text, taken the view, based on the archaeological knowledge available in the early 20th century, that the Catalogue embodied an essentially Bronze Age picture (ALLEN 1921, esp. 169-175). Page's discussion developed this line of argument, but he seems also to have been inspired by the decipherment's revelation of an extensive bureaucracy to consider the 'Catalogue' as the possible survival of a Bronze Age document (PAGE 1959, 118-177, esp. 134-137). Just over ten years later, Richard Hope Simpson and John Lazenby argued on the basis of archaeological remains that the Catalogue was more likely to reflect a Late Bronze Age background than one belonging in the12th century or later (HOPE SIMPSON – LAZENBY 1970, esp. 153-175).

Although knowledge of Late Bronze Age sites had grown considerably after Schliemann's discoveries, consistent information over relatively large regions was still patchy. In the 1960s, a team led by William McDonald and Richard

Hope Simpson carried out an extensive archaeological survey in southwestern Messenia to try to understand better the environmental context of the palace at Pylos. This was a pioneering multi-disciplinary project, one of the first of its kind in the Aegean, including archaeologists, geoarchaeologists, textual scholars and anthropologists (McDonald – Rapp 1972; cf. Cherry 2003, 141-142, for an assessment). Among the textual scholars was John Chadwick, who contributed a chapter on the geography of the Pylian kingdom.

In the same year as the Minnesota Messenia Expedition's results were published, Chadwick published a provocatively titled article 'Was Homer a liar?' (Chadwick 1972). In it he argued that Homer's value as a historical source had been accepted for far too long: 'The idea that Homer can tell us about the Mycenaean Age dies hard; it is time to administer the *coup de grâce*' (Chadwick 1972, 1). He set up a distinction between the 'poetic truth' of the epic and the historical truth as documented through archaeology and the evidence of the Linear B documents. In particular, he criticised attempts to understand the geography of the Pylos kingdom on the basis of Homeric information: not only are the pictures in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* inconsistent with one another, he argued, but neither fits at all well with either the overall geography of the kingdom as reconstructed from the Linear B documents or the large number of place-names attested therein (Chadwick 1972, 6-10). Similar arguments are made in 'Homer the pseudo-historian', the penultimate chapter of Chadwick's 1976 book, one of the first synthetic surveys of the implications of Linear B's decipherment for the history of the Late Bronze Age, and in many ways a 'challenge' to archaeologists to make better use of the rich data Linear B offered (Chadwick 1976, 180-187). His point about 'poetic truth' bears repetition — it is essentially the point that Finley had made in relation to the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Battle of Kosovo*: the historical 'inaccuracies' in these epics do not disprove the historicity of their purported settings, but tell us more about how epic traditions are formed (Finley 1964, 2-3).

Chadwick's analysis is part of a convergence of views shared among Mycenologists, ancient historians and archaeologists that emerged following the decipherment (particularly after the publication of *Documents*[1]) that rejected the Homeric corpus as a valid source for study of the Late Bronze Age. This position, of course, reversed the late-19th and early 20th-century orthodoxy emphasising the poems' historicity that had arisen in the wake of Schliemann's excavations. The principle of rejection was more or less accepted in the study of the 2nd millennium BC Aegean, and was reinforced from the 1970s by the publication of Colin Renfrew's *The Emergence of Civilisation* (Renfrew 1972), in which he sought to understand developments in the Aegean using approaches from contemporary prehistoric archaeology, a theoretical stance quite different

to that of classical archaeology at the time, in which texts were viewed much more sympathetically. Once again, as had happened at the beginning of the 20th century, but for different reasons, a division emerged — in this instance theoretical and methodological, rather than cultural — between classical and prehistoric Greek archaeology.

Renfrew also drew on Finley's analysis of the Mycenaean economy, seeking archaeological evidence, particularly in the form of large-scale storage and clear indicators of social inequality, for his 'massive redistributive operation' (cf. HALSTEAD 2011, 229-230). The redistributive model, analogous to the systems operating in contemporary eastern societies, first proposed by Finley, was developed further by John Killen (1985; 2008, 159-200), who outlined some areas apparently not under direct palatial control, in contrast to Finley's assertion of probable total control (FINLEY 1957a, 134-135; 1982, 205-206). Subsequent scholarship has sought to play down the role of the palatial centres within the overall economy (e.g., GALATY – PARKINSON 2007) and to question the appropriateness of redistribution as a term (most recently GALATY – NAKASSIS – PARKINSON 2011). Crucially for this chapter, revisionist views on the role of the palaces and the nature of redistribution have not advocated a return to a picture based on the Homeric texts.

Another important trend within archaeological research was the development of an intense focus on the period following the end of the Bronze Age that logically formed the background to Homer's works, a period variously known as the 'Dark Age' or the Early Iron Age (*ca* 1200-700 BC). Our appreciation of this period changed considerably in the second half of the 20th century (e.g., MORRIS 1997; 2007). Scholars like Hilda Lorimer, Vincent Desborough and Nicolas Coldstream sought to understand developments in this period that had been neglected in the 'white heat' of Schliemann's Bronze Age discoveries, partly because it represented a period with no texts. The implication of Parry and Lord's research that the Homeric poems had taken on the form in which we have them within this period, however, greatly increased its historical interest. Lorimer's masterly overview of the material culture presented in the Homeric poems drew the conclusion that there was as much that belonged in the Early Iron Age as in the Bronze Age (LORIMER 1950). Desborough (1952) and Coldstream (1968) systematised the ceramic sequence, the major category of material culture from the earlier (Protogeometric: *ca* 1050-900 BC) and later (Geometric: *ca* 900-700 BC) phases. Building on this new understanding, Desborough (1972) and Coldstream (1977) both produced influential syntheses of the period and they were joined by Anthony Snodgrass (1971; 2000), whose rich account, as much historical as archaeological, inspired a generation of new studies of the period (see also MORRIS 2000, 92-99). A sense

of the progress in our understanding of this period can be gained from the proceedings of a conference held in Edinburgh in 2003 (DEGER-JALKOTZY – LEMOS 2006), while more up-to-date syntheses have been written by Irene Lemos (2002) and by Oliver Dickinson (2006) and the period is regularly treated in the early chapters of historical syntheses such as those by Robin Osborne (1996), James Whitley (2001) and Jonathan Hall (2007).

In relation to the Homeric poems, the new picture of the period 1200 to 700 BC raised the possibility of identifying a particular point within that 500-year period with which the picture they presented was most consistent. However, this proved difficult. Oliver Dickinson, for example, like Finley before, if on different grounds, suggested that Homer's 'relevance' was greater to the 'Dark Age' than to the Mycenaean period (DICKINSON 1986), while Snodgrass proposed that Homer's picture was a composite, amalgamating practices from various post-Bronze Age periods: in other words, there was no *single* point of consistency (SNODGRASS 1974). This is a view Dickinson also has stated more recently (DICKINSON 2006, 239-240). Snodgrass's own student Ian Morris combined aspects of Finley's approach from the 1950s drawing on comparative oral tradition to suggest that the overall picture presented in the Homeric poems was consistent with a *context* for their production in the eighth century BC, but that the *content* of the poem, as with most oral traditions, retained an admixture of material of various dates, retaining 'older' features where there was no pressure to innovate (MORRIS 1986; 2001; see also VAN WEES 1992 for a similar position, in relation particularly to warfare). The 'cultural' picture in the poems therefore resembles that in the language: a broadly contemporary idiom with archaic features retained where metrically necessary or advantageous (cf. JANKO 1982).

The notion that material culture references in the Homeric poems could be related to material culture in the 'real world' to which the poems referred goes back, of course, to Heinrich Schliemann. That such references could be used to date the poems within a post-Bronze Age world required a more refined chronology and a better appreciation of the archaeological sequence of the Aegean Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages than had been available to Schliemann. By the mid-20th century, the archaeological record was sufficiently robust for such analyses. As noted already, Hilda Lorimer's was among the first sustained explorations of the material world of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages read against the texts (LORIMER 1950). It remains of considerable value for its detailed documentation of material culture references in the poems and their correlates in archaeologically recovered materials and in images, even if inevitably details of the archaeological references have changed with more recent discoveries. She also identified inconsistencies in the material world that could be explained as amalgamations of material culture belonging to different

periods in the sequence. Her view of an inconsistent material culture in the poems in many ways prefigured the sceptical view of the poems' reality in other areas that developed after the decipherment of Linear B, although she herself rejected a Greek interpretation of the documents (LORIMER 1950, 123; see above).

A large literature has accumulated on this issue, focusing on several slightly different aspects. In the first instance there are references to specific items of material culture that can be paralleled in both poems and archaeological contexts. These are comprehensively handled by Lorimer (1950), as well as in the multi-volume *Archaeologia Homerica* series, founded by Friedrich Matz and Hans-Günter Buchholz in 1967 (MATZ – BUCHHOLZ 1967-) and form a substantial part of the first *Companion to Homer* published in 1962 (*Companion Homer*, 'Material Culture', 489-559), to which the reader can turn for greater detail than is possible here. To summarise these references would take a chapter in itself, but a few examples make the point about the mixture. Not surprisingly, given the dramatic context of the *Iliad* in particular, the largest class of relevant material culture references is to weapons and armour (e.g., LORIMER 1950, 132-328; *Companion Homer*, 504-522; concise summary in SHERRATT 1990, 810-812; 1992, 149-152). Among those discussed by Lorimer are shield types (LORIMER 1950, 132-192), spears (254-261) and the boar's tusk helmet (212-219).

The 'tower-shield', embedded in formulae (e.g., *Iliad* 7.219; 11.485; 17.128) and associated with Ajax, belongs to an early Mycenaean (17th–15th century BC) environment, on the basis of depictions of tall, body-covering shields on artefacts like the inlaid dagger (e.g., KARO 1930-1933, pl. XCIV, no. 394; HAMPE – SIMON 1981, 120, fig. 175) or the silver krater (SAKELLARIOU 1974) from Shaft Grave IV of Grave Circle A at Mycenae. In contrast, smaller, lighter, circular shields are referred to elsewhere (e.g., *Iliad* 11.32-37; 12.294-297, among many) and are depicted as smaller, lighter circular shields in late Mycenaean (*ca* 1200 BC) and later representations (for example, on the LHIIIC warrior vase from Mycenae: e.g., HAMPE – SIMON 1981, 149, figs. 223-224; IMMERWAHR 1990, 149-151, pls. 85-87).

The poems therefore embody material culture that archaeology suggests belongs to two different periods. Similarly, the large, thrusting spear described in arming type-scenes in the poems (e.g., *Iliad* 3.338; 5.745; 15.482; 19.387) reflects finds of large, mould-cast bronze spearheads in early Mycenaean contexts (e.g., KARO 1930-1933, pl. LXXII, no. 215), while the practice of carrying two spears light enough to be thrown (e.g., *Iliad* 3.18-20; 5.495; 6.104; 11.212) seems to reflect later practice as depicted, for example, on 12th-century BC ceramics or regularly in Attic 8th-century BC representations (e.g., SHERRATT 1990, 811; 1992, 150-151). However, that this dual presentation in the epic

might reflect actual Mycenaean practice is suggested by the existence, at least as early as the 14th century BC in the Arsenal at Knossos, of small bronze points that were probably attached to shafts to make javelins, if the word *pa-ta-ja* (παλταῖα: *Diccionario* II, 88-89) in Linear B on associated sealings (KN Ws 1704.β; 1705.β; 8495.β1) can be read thus (cf. SHELMERDINE – BENNET 1995, 123-132).

Finally, the boar's tusk helmet that appears only once in the epic (*Iliad* 10.261-271), an heirloom owned by Meriones with a lengthy object biography (LORIMER 1950, 214; cf. BENNET 2004, 93-95), is generally considered to be an early Mycenaean (17th – 15th century BC) feature. However, as Shelmerdine has pointed out, while finds of boar's tusk helmets *in corpore* are predominantly early (now including an example in a shaft grave on Aigina dating to the late MH period, *ca* 1700 BC: KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1997, 35-50, pls 1 and 3), representations of the type continue (e.g., HAMPE – SIMON 1981, 219, fig. 334), even increasing in the later Mycenaean period, suggesting perhaps that the object was passing from practice to narrative even within the Mycenaean period (SHELMERDINE 1996, 474-492). The discovery of examples in a middle-LHIIIC (*ca* 1150 BC) tomb at Elateia in Phocis (SHELMERDINE 1996, 486, with reference) and in a Subminoan (*ca* 1050 BC) tomb at Knossos (CATLING 1995, 127-128) implies their continued existence, presumably as 'antiques'.

More complex are references to houses and palaces in the poems. While these consistently omit features well known from Late Bronze Age palaces, such as monumental stone architecture or wall-paintings, the complexity of structures like Odysseus's palace in the *Odyssey* with its upper storey seems ill-suited to the Iron Age structures that have been recovered, even the massive, but architecturally simple 'Heroön' at Lefkandi of the mid-10th century BC (POPHAM – CALLIGAS – SACKETT 1993). A difference between buildings and other items of mobile material culture is that they act as spaces within which people move, requiring the poet to use a vocabulary of space that is readily comprehensible to his contemporary audience. A vivid sense of the inconsistencies between the poetic representations and the material culture of the Late Bronze Age can be seen in the contrast between attempts to present architectural space on the basis of the text (e.g., GRAY 1955) and those that start from examples of actual Late Bronze Age palatial architecture and attempt to find in them the elements referred to in the text (e.g., WACE 1962). Also telling is the way in which certain 'special' buildings, such as Menelaos's palace (*Odyssey* 4) or the palace of Alkinoos (*Odyssey* 6-7) are exaggerated, but that exaggeration does not take them closer to Bronze Age prototypes, although there is a possibility that the features attributed to these structures may draw on contemporary Assyrian palace architecture (e.g., COOK 2004).

A second, more general way in which material culture references are ambiguous is in relation to attitudes. Telling are the references to iron in the poems. In general the poems are consistent: weapons and armour are made of bronze, although references to iron tools or weapons are not absent (LORIMER 1950, 111-121). In the Aegean Late Bronze Age, iron was not unknown, but appears to have been a relatively rare and precious material, not in regular use for functional categories of objects. The picture in the epics is therefore not wholly inconsistent, but one reference to iron in particular displays clear inconsistency: the 'lump' (σόλος) offered as a prize in the funeral games of Patroklos (*Iliad* 23.826-835). This object, as Sherratt has made clear (SHERRATT 1990, 809-810; 1992, 148-149), combines a view of iron as a functionally useless, but inherently valuable material, to be thrown like a discus with its recognition as a raw material able to provide the material needs of shepherd and farmer. This example is consistent with the famous simile in the *Odyssey* (9.391-394), where Odysseus's plunging of the 'tempered' wooden stake into Polyphemos's eye is likened to a smith 'quenching' an iron object in his forge. The poet and his audience both know what iron is really used for and can appreciate the force of a metallurgical simile, but aspects of iron's 'special' status in earlier periods still remain embedded in the tradition. A similar example is illustrated by references in the epics to 'shining' and/or 'fragrant' cloth that Shelmerdine, drawing on evidence for cloth and perfumed oil production in the Linear B documents, has argued are unconscious continuations of a terminology that reflects Late Bronze Age, but not necessarily later practice (SHELMERDINE 1995; 1996, 468-470).

The mixed nature of material culture references in the poems means that they cannot be used effectively to give a date to the composition of the poems. Any conclusion is either banal — the latest datable elements in the poems are 8th century, but we know, because we have the texts, that the poems existed then — or misleading — the majority of elements can be dated within the 'Dark Age', but, again, we assume the poems continued in performance for some time later than this before they came to be crystallised in written form. Scholars have attempted refinements, such as Powell, who examined a group of quite specific material references to demonstrate a possible 8th-century BC date (POWELL 1991, 187-220), or Crielaard, who focused not on specific material culture items, but on structural elements, such as writing, narrative visual art, colonisation and hero cults, to reach a similar conclusion (CRIELAARD 1995). In this respect the practice of writing offers a revealing example of the futility of such dating attempts. As scholars have pointed out since Wolf, writing is absent from the poems, apart from one very famous example: the diptych (πίνακι πτυκτῶι) inscribed with 'baleful signs' (σήματα λυγρά) and carried by Bellerophon to Lycia (*Iliad* 6.168-169). Such objects were known in actual exam-

ples from 7th-century BC Nimrud (e.g., OATES – OATES 2001, 219-220; cf. JEFFERY 1962, 555), and this might have suggested a late date for their incorporation in the tradition. However, an example found on the Uluburun shipwreck (SYMINGTON 1991), belonging to the late 14th century BC, demonstrates the existence of such objects in the Mycenaean period and on a vessel probably destined for the Aegean and with some elements of Mycenaean material culture on board (e.g., PULAK 2010). Knowledge of the inscribed tablet type could therefore be 14th or 7th century BC, or in theory anywhere in between; its existence in the text proves nothing about the date of composition of the poems themselves.

Susan Sherratt, however, demonstrated a way in which the mixed picture of material culture references in the Homeric poems could be used productively (SHERRATT 1990; 1992). Rather than attempt either a strictly 'stratigraphical' (defined by the latest datable material culture) or a 'highest frequency' (defined by the predominant period of material culture) dating of the poems' composition, she argued that the pattern itself was meaningful and could be used to suggest the stages by which the epic tradition had been formed. As had been appreciated ever since Parry and Lord's discoveries, the poems contained elements belonging to a number of periods within their long history, but these clustered around three key periods of reformulation of the epic tradition linked to major periods of social change: first, the 'early formative Mycenaean period', the period spanning the Shaft Graves to the early palaces (16th-14th centuries BC); second, the period following the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial societies (12th-8th centuries BC); and, finally, Homer's present, the later 8th century BC, when once again social change was extensive and rapid (SHERRATT 1990; 1992).

One effect of the rejection of Homer as a historical source, undoubtedly precipitated by the decipherment and the flood of administrative data contemporary with the Late Bronze Age palaces it released, was ironically to drive Aegean archaeology and the study of Linear B further apart, rather than uniting the two disciplines in study of the Aegean Late Bronze Age. This was partly due to Renfrew's rigorously archaeological approach that influenced many Aegean prehistoric archaeologists (cf. BARRETT – HALSTEAD 2004), but it was also partly due to an over-specialisation, whereby archaeologists appear to have felt unable (or unwilling) to engage with Linear B data and, to some extent, *vice versa*. Fortunately, that trend has to some extent been reversed since the mid-1980s in the work of a number of scholars who began to incorporate both types of evidence in their research and publications (e.g., BENNET 1988; DRIESSEN 1990; SHELMERDINE – PALAIMA 1984), a trend that has continued in the field (cf. PALAIMA 2003, 64-73; S. MORRIS 2003).

Only relatively recently have more literal interpretations of Homer's poems as deriving directly from the Late Bronze Age begun to re-emerge. These have

taken two general forms. Firstly, some have sought to read the poems again as reflecting Late Bronze Age realities, perhaps echoing Grote's interpretation of their value for 'life and manners'. Ione Mylonas Shear, for example, sought in two studies to revive the idea that the picture presented in the Homeric poems was Late Bronze Age, rather than Iron Age: her earlier book examined the poems' formation; the second, kingship in the Late Bronze Age, identifying connections among the Linear B evidence, Homer and the material record, especially that of the Shaft Graves (SHEAR 2000; 2004). Somewhat similar is a recent attempt to relate the Hittite references to the land of Aḫḫiyawa with the picture in the *Iliad* of a unified mainland Greek force and thus to identify Aḫḫiyawa as a mainland Greek state with its centre at Mycenae, where the sole *wanax* ('Great King') was based, other palace sites being governed by subordinate *lawagetai* (KELDER 2010). Such revisionist readings of Homer are quite rare, but interpretations of Bronze Age elements, like those of Shelmerdine (1995) noted above are not uncommon. A corollary to such readings are examples where the post-Bronze Age element is foregrounded, such as Erwin Cook's argument that the Palace of Alkinoos in the *Odyssey* depends on knowledge of 9th- to 7th-century BC Assyrian palaces (COOK 2004).

The other form that a revival of interest in the 'historicity' of the poems takes is in relation to Troy, inspired among other factors by the resumption of excavations at the site in 1988 by a joint Cincinnati–Tübingen team led by the late Manfred Korfmann. Conferences on the Trojan War had taken place in Liverpool in 1981 (FOXHALL – DAVIES 1984) and in Bryn Mawr in 1984 (MELLINK 1986). Both were generally sympathetic to the idea of conflict involving mainland Greeks, focused on the site of Troy and attempted to rationalise that picture in the developing understanding of the site itself and reading of Hittite documentary sources. One new interpretation introduced in the Bryn Mawr symposium was the possibility of a Luwian epic around the site of Wilusa, a *Wilusiad* (WATKINS 1986; cf. 1995, 144-151). Influential too, at least in the UK, was the broadcasting and publication of the documentary series *In Search of the Trojan War* (WOOD 1985).

Korfmann's investigations at the site of Hisarlık (published in a dedicated new periodical *Studia Troica*) revealed evidence for an extensive lower town, implying that the ancient site had been ten times larger than previously thought, consistent therefore with its status as a major centre. Previously the size of the city revealed by Schliemann had appeared inconsistent with Troy's legendary importance. Moreover, he saw the site as similar to other significant western Anatolian sites of the period as well as lying in a key location on trade routes between the Aegean and Black Seas (see EASTON – HAWKINS – SHERRATT – SHERRATT 2002 for an overview of the results of new excavations). Further correlation with Hittite documents makes it clear not only that representatives

of the land of Aḫḫiyawa were active on the western Anatolian coast in the 14th and 13th centuries BC, including a period of control of Miletos, Hittite Millawanda, but also that the names Troia and Ilios probably go back to Anatolian originals, Taruisa and Wilusa (see, e.g., BRYCE 2010; JABLONKA 2010; GREAVES 2010 for up-to-date summaries; also LATACZ 2004; EASTON – HAWKINS – SHERRATT – SHERRATT 2002). Further, it is now considered almost certain that the land of Aḫḫiyawa did not exist on the Anatolian mainland (HAWKINS 1998), and so the name may well have referred to the southern mainland of Greece (cf. BENNET 2011, 158, 161-162). Korfmann's revised appreciation of Troy and its significance generated considerable controversy in Germany, despite the fact that the idea that Homer's account was historical had retained some plausibility there (e.g., THEUNE-GROSSKOPF – SEIDEL – KASTL – KEMPA – REDIES – WAIS 2001; cf. LATACZ 2004; HERTEL – KOLB 2003 for both sides of the debate). Sadly Korfmann himself died in 2005; his work at the site is continued by Ernst Pernicka and Peter Jablonka.

In the early 21st century, then, the Troy story had developed into a more sophisticated historical reconstruction, drawing on documentary sources and archaeology, that suggested a much more complex and multi-staged involvement of mainland Greeks in western Anatolia than Homer's narrative implied (see also WIENER 2007, 7-19 for a summary). For Korfmann a possible rationale for the creation of the *Iliad* was as a response by 9th- or 8th-century BC Greek-speaking inhabitants of the Troad who came across the still impressive ruins of Troy and anchored their epic traditions to this particular place (KORFMANN 2002; see also below, p. 222). At a more general level, debate about the relationship between Homer's poems and the Late Bronze Age had resolved itself in a generally accepted consensus. The context of *production* of the poems was the 8th century BC (or slightly later), as was demonstrated, among other factors, by the inconsistency of the picture they presented with that offered by archaeology and Linear B in combination for the Late Bronze Age, the poems' ostensible period of *reference*. That the poems contained any Bronze Age elements was explicable by their belonging to an oral tradition, as demonstrated by Parry and Lord, rather than by appeals to undocumented continuity of Aegean scripts or implausibly early adoption of alphabetic writing (cf. Fig. 18.1).

§18.5. ORAL PERFORMANCE IN THE AEGEAN LATE BRONZE AGE — CONTEXT AND CONTENT

If we accept that the Homeric poems do not offer unproblematic historical data, we can nevertheless use them, in combination with other types of evidence, to understand the history of the epic itself: how did the poems come

to take on the form they did? Here Linear B and archaeology have combined productively, so that we are now in a position to begin to understand epic's place in the changing societies of the Aegean from the Late Bronze Age to the Archaic period. A note of caution should be introduced, however: although I use the term 'epic' to refer to poetry in the Bronze Age, I use it in the sense of 'oral poetry ancestral to the later Homeric epics'. We cannot be confident that epic in the form in which we know it existed in the Bronze Age, while it is highly likely that other genres must also have existed (cf. YOUNGER 2007).

The existence of Greek texts belonging to the 14th – 13th centuries BC, albeit notated in a syllabic script, has enabled comparison between the prose idiom of the Linear B documents and the poetic dialect preserved in Homer's work. Linguistic studies (chiefly HORROCKS 1980; 1984; 1997; RUIJGH 1985; 1995; 2011; WEST 1988) have argued a considerable antiquity not only for the Homeric poetic dialect, but also for elements of that dialect that are particularly suited to the 'composition-in-performance' (LORD 2000, 13-17) of hexameter poetry. Horrocks argued that the retention of 'tmesis' — strictly the separation of verb forms from verb particles or pre-verbs — in the Homeric poetic dialect, while it was absent in our preserved Linear B documents, suggests that the epic dialect's origins pre-dated the period of the Linear B tablets (HORROCKS 1980; 1984; 1997, 201-202; questioned by DUHOUX 1998; HAJNAL 2004). Similarly, certain Homeric forms preserved in formulae — even occasional whole lines — could have been scanned more consistently when reconstructed Mycenaean forms were 'restored' in place of those preserved in the texts as we have them (see RUIJGH 1995 for a full list and discussion; 2011, 281-290; also WEST 1988, 156-159). It is also possible that the hexameter in which the epics were composed has an earlier origin in Minoan culture, if Ruijgh and Meillet (who had also influenced Parry's studies: PARRY 1971, xxiii) are correct in their suggestion that it must have a non-Indo-European origin (RUIJGH 2011, 257-258; MEILLET 1923, 61-63; *contra* WEST 1997, 234-237).

The above analyses lend strong support to the suggestions of scholars such as Nilsson (1933, 205-211), Lorimer (1950, 453-458) and Webster (1958, 91-135), following Parry's demonstration of the oral-traditional nature of Homeric epic, that epic poetry existed in the Aegean Late Bronze Age, assumptions already made on different grounds, for example, by Lang (1906), Evans (1912) and Myres (1930). They are, of course, further reinforced by the existence of early Mycenaean material culture features in the poems discussed above (cf. SHERRATT 1990; 1992; LORIMER 1950). Moreover, poetry need not have been written down in a linear script at the time (as Lang, Evans and Myres had assumed), but was probably oral. Nor need it strictly have been 'epic', if we take that to define hexameter poems of a certain length and content.

By considering these results against the material world of the Late Bronze Age, it is possible to suggest both a physical context for such performances and a cultural logic for the separation of literate administrative recording from oral performance. There exist a number of Late Bronze Age or earlier representations of musicians with a lyre (YOUNGER 1998, for a catalogue; also 2007), and we now probably have the craft-name 'lyre-player' (**lurastás*) attested — in dual form (*ru-ra-ta-e*) — on a recent tablet from Thebes (Av 106.7) listing male personal names in the nominative, although unfortunately with no heading to give a context (ARAVANTINOS – GODART – SACCONI 2001, 31-32, 176-178). Probably the best specific example to illustrate a Late Bronze Age context for oral performance is the so-called Palace of Nestor at Pylos (DAVIS – BENNET 1999; BENNET 2007). Here, on the wall of the main megaron (room 6), there is a depiction of a lyre-player, whom Blegen associated with Apollo, Orpheus, or Thamyris (BLEGEN 1962b, 425; BLEGEN – RAWSON 1966, 79), seated on a rock and holding, not playing, his lyre (YOUNGER 1998, 69).

The context for the performance appears to have been a banquet, suggested by the diners depicted next to the lyre-player. The existence of such banquets at Pylos, Thebes and Knossos is confirmed by Linear B texts, but we may assume they were also held at other palaces (BENDALL 2004; HALSTEAD – ISAAKIDOU 2004; KILLEN 1994; PITEROS – MELENA – OLIVIER 1990; WRIGHT 2004). Jack Davis and I have suggested that oral poetic performances took place against the backdrop of wall-paintings like those in Hall 64 at Pylos (DAVIS – BENNET 1999). This seems the best way to understand how such representations functioned, since, unlike examples in contemporary Egypt or Mesopotamia (e.g., BAINES 1989; papers in HOLLIDAY 1993), they had no captions to 'anchor' them to a particular narrative (BENNET 2004, 96; 2007, 15-16). That they were narrative in content was suggested by Evans (1912, 288-93) and by Webster (1958, 27-63, esp. 58-62), both of whom linked their content to the subject-matter of Mycenaean poetry.

Although we can plausibly place poetic performance in situations like that of Late Bronze Age Pylos, the circumstances of performance and therefore composition of oral poetry must have changed radically between the 13th-century 'courts' of Mycenaean *wanaktes* and the smaller-scale elite groups surrounding the *basileis* of the 8th centuries BC (cf. SHERRATT 1990; 1992; 2005). This has implications for poetic content, whose reconstruction is a 'dangerously open-ended game' (WEST 1988, 159), but perhaps can most plausibly be reconstructed from Aegean representational art, as noted above, especially that associated broadly with warfare or hunting and generally 'panoptic' in nature inviting 'detached observation', not participation (for the terms, see BENNET 2007). Not only are there well-known scenes in the Minoan world, such as

the rich miniature fresco from Akrotiri on Thera (MORGAN 1988; cf. also TELEVANTOU 1994; S. MORRIS 1989; HILLER 1990), but there are also many other less extensive probable narratives in the Mycenaean world, from a period perhaps contemporary with the Thera fresco down to the time of the last palace at Pylos (see CAIN 1997 on the identification of narrative in Aegean representations, and 2001, specifically in relation to scenes on Minoan signets; on ancient narrative art in general, see HOLLIDAY 1993). Some of the best-known examples were found on the northeast wall of room 64 at Pylos (LANG 1969, 214-5; DAVIS – BENNET 1999, 107-11; SHAW 2001), with others elsewhere in the palace (most recently BRECOULAKI et al. 2008).

At Pylos the performative aspect of state ceremony extended beyond oral poetic performance to the requirement of the physical presence of the ruler (the *wanax*) in an iconographic 'frame' laid out in the main megaron (Room 6). Against the right-hand wall as one entered the main megaron there was a seat and, painted on the wall (probably) on either side of the throne, were a paired lion and griffin, a scheme reminiscent of the earlier Throne Room at Knossos (e.g., HILLER 1996). The composition was effectively 'empty' or 'blank' without the physical presence of the *wanax* on the seat. The fact that the ruler had to present himself in context suggests the term 'first-person' for this type of ruler iconography: the composition states '*I* am the ruler'. This contrasts with the mode of ruler iconography attested in other times and places where the ruler's physical co-presence was not required, but he (sometimes she) could be depicted and identified by means of text in their absence, a '3rd-person' iconography: 'he / she is the ruler' (BENNET 2007, 13).

Indeed, it is a noticeable feature of Aegean Late Bronze Age representation that writing and image are almost never brought together in the same field, although one can appear in place of the other (for example on the bezel of signet rings), or objects can appear without or, more rarely, with writing (Minoan stone offering tables, for example). The absence of an association between text and image, combined with the nature of the 'framing' iconography in the main megaron at Pylos, only completed by the live presence of the *wanax* — a kind of 'performance art'? — perhaps offer support for a notion that such displays were 'performances' to be experienced in the moment, not re-presented in written form, but retained in bodily memory of tastes, smells, sights and sounds.

The application of conclusions drawn from the Linear B evidence to the history of the development of Homeric epic as suggested by the Parry–Lord theory therefore allows us to situate oral poetic performances in specific contexts in the Late Bronze Age and, importantly, to draw the conclusion that such performances and writing were, in fact, diametrically opposed to one another.

Just because writing existed in the Aegean Late Bronze Age, it need not have been used for purposes that we, in our desire to recover recorded poetry from that period and engaging our modern views of literacy, would assume natural and obvious.

§18.6. Conclusions: Homer and Linear B in the 21st century

> In what sense, if any, is an eighth-century oral poet related to a period of Greek history — as defined by modern scholars — that ended some four hundred years before his own day? (Bennet 1997, 511)

The text of Homer remains the second earliest Greek we have and is therefore of value in the interpretation and evaluation of Linear B texts, as indeed are the Linear B texts in interpreting Homer's language (see Ruijgh 2011).

The context of *production* for the Homeric poems is the Aegean Early Iron Age (cf. Fig. 18.1), perhaps the 8th century BC (e.g., Morris 1986; Powell 1991; Crielaard 1995), even if some would place their formalisation somewhat later (e.g., Nagy 1996). The poems themselves, like those of other oral traditions, comprise a mixture of periods in their material culture references, what Sherratt has usefully termed a 'bricolage' (Sherratt 2010). The *reference* of the Homeric texts is, however, the Late Bronze Age (*ca* 1400-1200 BC) in a general sense (what Homer might have termed the 'Heroic Age'). It is possible that the tradition they embody drew on elements of Mycenaean activities in that period, such as involvement in western Anatolia (as suggested by the historical documents from the Hittite world: Niemeier 1998; Bryce 2005, 357-371; 2010, 478-480; Latacz 2004, 15-140; cf. Watkins 1995, 144-151). However, although these elements, when deployed in a poetic tradition, give rise to specific narratives about individual actors (Agamemnon, Achilleus, etc.) or places (Troy, Mycenae, etc.), this is not the same as specific recollections of single historical events that can be equated with particular archaeological contexts, such as Troy VI or VIIa, etc. In Chadwick's phrase, they represent a 'poetic', not a 'historical' truth (cf. Chadwick 1972, 2).

The understanding of the Homeric *oral* tradition initiated by the work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord in combination with the linguistic reconstruction only possible because of the decipherment of Linear B (cf. Horrocks 1980; 1984; 1997; Ruijgh 1995; 2011) demonstrate the antiquity of the epic *Kunstsprache* and add weight to the suggestions of scholars (e.g., Nilsson 1933, 205-211; Lorimer 1950, 453-458; Webster 1958, 91-135) and others that oral poetry, possibly epic, existed in the Aegean Late Bronze Age. But does this permit us to accept Wace's suggestion in the passage quoted at the beginning

of this chapter that literature once existed in *written* form in the Late Bronze Age, as Lang and Evans also supposed? I suggest that this does not follow. It is not because Linear B was unsuitable for the recording of hexameter verse (as claimed, for example, by POWELL 1991, 109-115, specifically in relation to the Cypriote syllabary; cf. also WEBSTER 1958, 64-90 on 'eastern' poetry). The existence across a broad span of space and time of numerous written versions of Mesopotamian epics like *Gilgamesh* (cf. GEORGE 1999) that were normally performed orally (DALLEY 1989, xvi-xvii; SASSON 2005, 224-225) suggests that poetic utterance could be notated in logo-syllabic scripts.

Rather, I suggest, the reason is that, in contrast to Mesopotamia and Egypt, where writing was interwoven into the fabric of elite culture, this was not the case in the Aegean, and, as Wolf suggested over two centuries ago (e.g., 1985, 104), poets avoided writing because it was not appropriate to the performance context of their poetry. Nor was it culturally appropriate to 'record' performances of this type, nor to depict rulers with '3rd-person' iconography. Such a model fits with the picture of a performative 'culture of power' that appears to have existed at Pylos (and presumably other Mycenaean palaces), in which the physical co-presence of the ruler was required to bring compositions of ruler iconography fully to life, while the performance of oral song on the occasion of large-scale banquets in front of wall-paintings enlivened their content (cf. BENNET 2007; DAVIS – BENNET 1999; WRIGHT 2004).

The relevance of Linear B texts (*sensu* MORELAND 2001, 26-27) to oral performance is therefore that textual intervention was *rejected* by the ruling elite; rather, oral performance was required to 'enliven' visual representations on palace walls in performance contexts associated with banquets. When this performance context disappeared, the 'real' accoutrements of power — oral performance — continued, while others were rejected, such as writing and large-scale visual representation. It was only with the adaptation and development of alphabetic literacy that epic (and other genres of poetry and artistic expression) were transmitted effectively through writing. The earliest examples are hexameter texts alluding to epic incised after firing on vessels of the later 8th century BC (most famously the so-called 'Cup of Nestor' from Pithekoussai and the 'Dipylon oinochoe': see, for example, POWELL 1991, 158-167). These inscriptions, however, are not linked to images. The real change — a break with over a millennium of practice in the Aegean — is the combination of text with image on the same scene in the form of written 'captions' to bring specificity to scenes on ceramics that begin to appear in the mid- or late-7th century BC (cf. BENNET 2004, 96). Unlike the texts incised after manufacture on ceramics in the 8th century BC, those of the 7th century BC are painted before firing at the same time as the images they accompany.

Homer, therefore, helps to document the *practice* of Late Bronze Age song, but not necessarily its *content* (*pace* WEST 1988, 158-159). Recovering Late Bronze Age song's content, except perhaps in the most general sense of scenes of warfare or hunting, is perhaps best achieved through examination of contemporary representational art, such as that embodied in palatial wall-paintings. These depictions might therefore represent the content of 'court' epics (cf. LEAF 1892, 2; LORIMER 1950, 458). The Greek epic tradition, in the light of the past 200 years or so of scholarship, is in fact a tradition of 'practice', rather than a tradition of 'events' handed down and slowly mis- or re-remembered over the generations (cf. BENNET 2004, 92, Fig. 5.1).

One remaining question forms a puzzling epilogue to the larger topic: by what route did oral poetic traditions travel from the Late Bronze Age to the time and place they were captured in writing? The epic tradition is associated with western Anatolia (Ionia), or at the very least was composed in an Ionic dialectal environment, even if — by a stretch — that could be the West Ionic of Euboea (WEST 1988; contrast CHADWICK 1990). The heartland of the Mycenaean societies in the 14th and 13th centuries BC, where we assume oral performance was an element of 'court' practice, however, was southern Greece as far north as Boeotia. This distribution is largely reflected in the key participants in the epics as we have them, especially if we allow the Theban cycle as part of the broader tradition, although we no longer possess the equivalent poems to those involving Troy (cf. BURGESS 2005). There are problems, however: why are the two major figures of the epics we possess — Odysseus and Achilleus — not from areas within the Mycenaean heartland, but from its margins, the Ionian islands and Thessaly respectively?

Although in Homer's *Odyssey*, Odysseus is associated with Ithaca, aspects of the character and his name suggest that he can perhaps be explained as a 'mobile' hero, Cretan in origin, and possibly 'old' within the overall tradition, deployed in the 8th century to define the western margin of a Greek world that the Homeric epics played their part in creating (cf. SHERRATT 1996, 93; 2005, 133-135, 138-139). For Achilleus, however, who does not define the equivalent eastern margin, a possible explanation derives from a widely recognised feature of the epic dialect, namely that it contains an element of Aeolic dialectal forms (see, e.g., JANKO 1992, 15-19; RUIJGH 1957; 2011, 258, 291-295; contra: HORROCKS 1987; PARKER 2008). The most plausible explanation for this situation is that the tradition, at one stage in its development, existed in an Aeolic-speaking environment and only took on its Ionic form in its later stages, not too long before it became fixed in the form in which we possess it (cf. RUIJGH 2011, 294-295). Given our understanding of early Greek dialectology, refined considerably as a result of the decipherment of Linear B (e.g., GARCÍA-RAMÓN

1975), this Aeolic environment might have existed either on the eastern mainland of Greece, north of Boeotia, including Thessaly, Achilleus' homeland (cf. HORROCKS 1997, 200), or in northwest Anatolia, in the area where Troy lay. I would like to sketch, albeit rather tentatively, a way in which archaeological data from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages might help shape an answer to the question posed above.

Archaeological discoveries in the relatively recent past have reshaped our view of the area surrounding the northern Euboean and Pagasitic Gulfs in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. The discovery of a peripheral Mycenaean palace at Dimini (ADRIMI-SISMANI 2007), with two Linear B inscriptions, albeit not clay tablets, recovered to date, can be set alongside the centres at Pefkakia to the south and Volos itself not far east of Dimini, where a Linear B tablet from Theocharis's excavations has been rediscovered (SKAFIDA – KARNAVA – OLIVIER 2012) (see PANTOU 2010 for a recent overview). In addition, this region sees a proliferation of new tholos tombs after their construction has become rare in southern mainland Greece (e.g., CAVANAGH – MEE 1998, 63-64; 92; GALANAKIS 2008, 76-85, 288, 300-302). These new data combine to suggest a (possibly aspirational?) Mycenaean culture in the larger region that appears to persist into the 12th century, as indicated by continued use of tholos tombs in Thessaly and reflected in the prominent cemetery site of Elateia and the major sanctuary of Kalapodi, both on the route from the Euboean Gulf southwest to the Corinthian Gulf (cf. CRIELAARD 2006; WIENER 2007, 21-26). Effectively this region that had been peripheral to the Mycenaean world of the 14th-13th centuries became re-centred in the disrupted world of the 12th century and later. That the region was self-consciously looking back to a Mycenaean past as the palatial world to the south collapsed is implied by the form and contents of some of the chamber tombs in the Elateia cemetery, by the possible deposition of heirlooms in the sanctuary at Kalapodi, and by the appearance there and at other sites of a representational style on mid-12th-century ceramics, particularly kraters, including scenes of feasting, hunting, chariots, seafaring and warfare on land and sea (summarised in CRIELAARD 2006, 282-283, Figs. 14.2.b-e, 14.4; see also DAKORONIA 2006; WEDDE 2000; recently NIEMEIER 2006-2007, 42-43, fig. 51).

If these ceramic representations can be seen as parallels for epic tales — as we often read the later, 8th-century BC Attic representations — then are we perhaps justified in seeing a formative period of the post-Bronze Age epic in this general region in the 12th century, adding a spatial as well as a chronological dimension to Sherratt's proposed second stage of epic development (SHERRATT 1990; 1992)? The perspective of the elite in this region would have been one that looked in to the core region of the Mycenaean world from its

periphery; it would also have represented a retrospective view back to times that had passed in the southern Greek Mycenaean world. This perspective is likely to have differed from that of the elite at Tiryns, for example, in the same period, where the remains of the Mycenaean palatial world lay all around and its material culture could be hoarded as *keimelia* (cf. MARAN 2006). It is not difficult to imagine a context for the creation of epics with an explicitly 'nostalgic' view in societies like those of the northern Euboean Gulf region, that would also include Lefkandi, a site of considerable and well known importance in the LHIIIC-Protogeometric (*ca* 1200-900 BC) period. If we further imagine this tradition moving to northwest Anatolia by the 9th century BC (HORROCKS 1997, 214-217; RUIJGH 2011, 258), we can perhaps follow Korfmann in seeing encounters with the still impressive ruins of the site of Troy, where activity in exactly this period has been documented, as prompts to locate stories peopled with great names from the Mycenaean past and of local significance in a Thessalian homeland (i.e. Achilleus) at the site of a substantial city now in ruins (KORFMANN 2002).

Whether or not the epilogue above can be regarded as plausible or credible, I hope this chapter has suggested ways in which the decipherment of Linear B has impacted the study of Homer and how the two, in combination, can be used to suggest more convincing interpretations of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Aegean world. I have tried also, by taking the story so far back in scholarly history, to outline how this topic is implicated in a much broader discussion of how textual and material data complement and appear to contradict each other, yet must both be utilised since they are both embedded in the lives of those we seek to study.

§18.7. FURTHER READING

On Homeric epic
Companion Homer
New Companion Homer
MORRIS – LAFFINEUR 2007

On the archaeology and history of the period
DEGER-JALKOTZY – LEMOS 2006
DICKINSON 2006
LEMOS 2002
MORRIS 2000; 2007

§18.8. References for Chapter 18

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A double dagger (‡) and an editorial coronis (⸸) mark those items which also appear in the indexes of *Companion* 1 (‡) and 2 (⸸).

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4. Index of Undeciphered Syllabograms

This index lists in two different ways the Linear B syllabograms which count as undeciphered. First, in the official transliteration, where an asterisk precedes the conventional number (in italics) which identifies each sign (e.g. **18*). Second, in the tentative transliteration suggested by Melena (forthcoming), which has not yet been officially accepted. All these tentative values are followed by $^{??}$ (e.g. $a_5{}^{??}$).

A double dagger (‡) and an editorial coronis (⸸) mark those items which also appear in the indexes of *Companion* 1 (‡) and 2 (⸸).

Official transliteration

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5. INDEX OF LINEAR B ABBREVIATIONS/IDEOGRAMS

This index lists not only the official transliteration of the Linear B ideograms, but also the tentative transliteration suggested by MELENA (forthcoming), which has not yet been officially accepted. All the tentative values are followed by ?? (e.g. LIB*ra*??).

A double dagger (‡) and an editorial coronis (⸸) mark those items which also appear in the indexes of *Companion* 1 (‡) and 2 (⸸).

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BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES CILL (BCILL)

VOLUMES RÉCENTS

Tous les volumes antérieurs de la BCILL sont disponibles et peuvent être commandés chez les Editions Peeters.

BCILL 90: **J.-M. ELOY**, *La constitution du Picard: une approche de la notion de langue*, IV-259 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1997. Prix: 23 €. ISBN 978-90-6831-905-7.
Cet ouvrage fait le point sur le cas picard et développe une réflexion originale sur la notion de langue. À partir des théories linguistiques, de l'histoire du fait picard et d'une démarche principalement sociolinguistique, l'auteur dégage des résultats qui éclairent la question des langues régionales d'oïl, et au delà, intéressent la linguistique générale.

BCILL 91: **L. DE MEYER**, *Vers l'invention de la rhétorique. Une perspective ethnologique sur la communication en Grèce ancienne*, 314 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1997. Prix: 28 €. ISBN 978-90-6831-942-2.
L'auteur, s'inspirant des données de l'ethnologie de la communication, tente une description généalogique des différents «niveaux de conscience» du discours qui ont précédé celui de la rhétorique proprement dite. Le passage des «proto-rhétoriques», encore fortement liées à la «parole efficiente», à la rhétorique est analysé dans ses rapports aux nouveaux usages de l'écriture, à la crise de l'expérience démocratique athénienne et à l'avènement de la philosophie.

BCILL 92: **J. C. HERRERAS** (éd), *L'enseignement des langues étrangères dans les pays de l'Union Européenne*, 401 pp. Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1998. Prix: 36 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0025-7.
L'Union Européenne, en choisissant de garder onze langues officielles, a fait le pari de la diversité linguistique. Mais cette option a aussi ses exigences, puisque, pour faciliter la mobilité des citoyens et assurer une meilleure intercompréhension à l'intérieur de la Communauté, l'apprentissage des langues des partenaires européens est indispensable. Le présent ouvrage essaie d'analyser dans quelle mesure la politique linguistique des pays membres contribue à atteindre ces objectifs.

BCILL 93: **C. DE SCHAETZEN** (éd), *Terminologie et interdisciplinarité. Actes du Colloque organisé en avril 1996 par le Centre de terminologie de Bruxelles (Institut Libre Marie Haps) et l'Association internationale des Professeurs de Langues vivantes*, 184 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1997. Prix: 17 €. ISBN 978-90-6831-949-1.
La terminologie des spécialistes est à la fois obstacle et vecteur de communication inderdisciplinaire. Ce volume constitue les *Actes* d'un Colloque centré sur les rapports entre terminologie et inderdisciplinarité.

BCILL 94: **A. MANIET**, *Répercussions phonologiques et morphologiques de l'évolution phonétique: le latin préclassique*, XIV-303 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1997. Prix: 28 €. ISBN 978-90-6831-951-4.

L'ouvrage vise à tester, sur le plan phonique, le principe fonctionnaliste d'économie. La démonstration se base sur la série algorithmique, quantifiée, des changements phoniques qui ont fait aboutir le système d'un corpus reconstitué au système représenté par un corpus latin préclassique, y compris les variantes morphologiques.

BCILL 95: **A. TABOURET-KELLER** (éd), *Le nom des langues. I. Les enjeux de la nomination des langues*, 274 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1997. Prix: 24 €. ISBN 978-90-6831-953-8.
Nommer une langue, loin d'être une question linguistique, relève d'enjeux qui intéressent aussi bien les institutions que les personnes et qui sont souvent contradictoires. Dans ce premier tome d'une série traitant du *nom des langues*, une dizaine d'études illustrent cette problématique en s'appliquant chacune à un cas bien particulier.

BCILL 96: **A. MEURANT**, *Les Paliques, dieux jumeaux siciliens*, 123 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1998. Prix: 13 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0235-0.
Une étude détaillée du mythe et du culte de très vieilles divinités siciliennes devenues symboles de liberté et consultées pour éprouver la bonne foi. La formation de leur légende, la nature de leur gémellité et leurs relations avec les Δέλλοι y sont particulièrement analysées.

BCILL 97: **Y. DUHOUX** (éd), *Langue et langues. Hommage à Albert* MANIET, 289 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1998. Prix: 27 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0576-4.
Treize articles (de Y. DUHOUX, É. ÉVRARD, G. JUCQUOIS, M. LAVENCY, A. LÉONARD, G. MALONEY, P. MARTIN, A. PAQUOT, R. PATRY, E.C. POLOMÉ, É. TIFFOU, K. TUITE) traitent d'indo-européen, de grec ancien, de latin, de français contemporain, de bourouchaski, de svane, et de la langue conçue comme thermomètre social.

BCILL 98: **F. BENTOLILA** (éd), *Systèmes verbaux*, 334 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1998. Prix: 39 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0708-9.
Les quinze descriptions présentées dans cet ouvrage, toutes fondées sur les mêmes principes théoriques, fourniront des matériaux homogènes à la typologie et à la comparaison. Les auteurs ont eu le souci de dégager les unités par commutation, de distinguer unité et variante d'unité, et de répartir les déterminants en classes sur la base de l'exclusion mutuelle. À partir de leurs travaux, on perçoit mieux la spécificité des déterminants grammaticaux du verbe par rapport aux marqueurs d'opération énonciative (assertion, interrogation, injonction), aux subordonnants et aux affixes de dérivation.

BCILL 99: **Sv. VOGELEER, A. BORILLO, C. VETTERS, M. VUILLAUME** (éds), *Temps et discours*, 282 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1998. Prix: 26 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0664-8.
Les articles réunis dans ce volume explorent trois aspects des rapports entre temps et discours: la référence temporelle; la relation entre type de discours et emploi des temps verbaux; les manifestations discursives du développement du système temporel au cours de l'acquisition. Ce livre intéressera tous les linguistes qui étudient la temporalité.

BCILL 100: *Hethitica XIV*, 177 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1999. Prix: 16 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0732-4.
Treize articles de S. de Martino, M. Forlanini, D. Groddek, R. Lebrun, M. Mazoyer, E. Neu, A. Polit, M. Popko, O. Soysal, F. Imparati.

BCILL 101: **H. FUGIER**, *Syntaxe malgache*, 253 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1999. Prix: 23 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0710-2.
Cette *Syntaxe* décrit l'état de langue dit *malgache officiel*, sur base d'un corpus dont sont analysés en détail 450 énoncés, échelonnés du *classique ancien* à la *langue commune* actuelle. Chaque classe de constituants est définie par son utilité fonctionnelle dans la construction de la phrase. L'auteur montre comment l'énoncé grammatical se complexifie par un jeu d'applications successives où interviennent des phénomènes typologiquement remarquables (voix multiples, nom verbal avec son possesseur-agent, verbes sériés…).

BCILL 102: **Ph. BLANCHET, R. BRETON, H. SCHIFFMAN** (éd), *Les langues régionales de France: un état des lieux à la veille du XXI^e siècle – The Regional Languages of France: an Inventory on the Eve of the XXI^st Century*, 202 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1999. Prix: 18 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0791-1.
Des (socio)linguistes, ethnologues, géographes, juristes et responsables de l'enseignement dressent le panorama des problèmes de six langues régionales de France: alsacien, basque, breton, corse, occitan, provençal.

BCILL 103: **S. VANSÉVEREN**, *«Prodige à voir». Recherches comparatives sur l'origine casuelle de l'infinitif en grec ancien*, 192 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2000. Prix: 18 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0835-2.
Étude sur l'origine casuelle de l'infinitif grec ancien, principalement en grec homérique. L'optique est comparative, morphologique, syntaxique, prosodique, mais surtout méthodologique, prenant en compte les problèmes fondamentaux de la grammaire comparée des langues indo-européennes. En plus du grec, sont examinés les faits en latin, sanskrit védique, avestique, hittite, arménien, tokharien, germanique, vieux slave, balte et celtique.

BCILL 104: **Yves DUHOUX**, *Le verbe grec ancien. Éléments de morphologie et de syntaxe historiques* (deuxième édition, revue et augmentée), Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2000, 561 pp. Prix: 50 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0837-6.
La deuxième édition de ce livre étudie la structure et l'histoire du système verbal grec ancien. Menées dans une optique structuraliste, les descriptions morphologiques et syntaxiques sont toujours associées, de manière à s'éclairer mutuellement. Une attention particulière à été consacrée à la délicate question de l'aspect verbal. Les données quantitatives ont été systématiquement traitées, grâce à un *corpus* de plus de 100.000 formes verbales s'échelonnant depuis Homère jusqu'au IV^e siècle.

BCILL 105: **F. ANTOINE**, *Dictionnaire français-anglais des mots tronqués*, LX-209 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2000. Prix: 24 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0839-0.
Ce dictionnaire bilingue français-anglais présente les mots tronqués ("doc" pour "docteur", etc.) du français. Il propose pour chaque terme: une traduction en anglais la plus fidèle possible du point de vue historique et stylistique; des mises en contexte propres à faire apparaître d'autres traductions; des citations qui l'illustrent; l'information lexicologique pertinente. L'ouvrage est précédé d'une étude des aspects historiques, sociologiques, morphologiques et psychologiques des mots tronqués.

BCILL 106: **F. ANTOINE**, *An English-French Dictionary of Clipped Words*, XLIV-259 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2000. Prix: 27 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0840-6.
This book is a bilingual dictionary of English clipped words ("doc" for "doctor", etc.). It offers for each headword: one or several translations into French, which aim to be as

accurate as possible from the historical and stylistic point of view; examples of usage to show other possible translations; illustrative quotations; the pertinent lexicological data. The dictionary proper is preceded by an analysis of the historical, sociological, morphological and psychological aspects of clippings.

BCILL 107: **M. WAUTHION – A. C. SIMON** (éd), *Politesse et idéologie. Rencontres de pragmatique et de rhétorique conversationnelles*, 369 pp. Louvain, Peeters, 2000. Prix: 33 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0949-6.
Ce volume représente les actes du colloque qui, en novembre 1998, a réuni à Louvain-la-Neuve une trentaine de chercheurs francophones pour explorer les rapports entre linguistique et littérature autour du thème de la politesse des échanges et de la rhétorique des conversations. Ces univers scientifiques distincts nous rappellent la vocation de la politesse à agir dans la science classique comme dénominateur commun du savoir et du savoir-vivre.

BCILL 108: **L. BEHEYDT – P. GODIN – A. NEVEN – B. LAMIROY – W. VAN BELLE – J. VAN DER HORST – W. VAN LANGENDONCK** (éd), *Contrastief onderzoek Nederlands-Frans / Recherches contrastives néerlandais-français*, 239 pp., Louvain, Peeters, 2001. Prix: 21 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1004-1.
Ce recueil interpellera linguistes, didacticiens, traducteurs et enseignants soucieux de voir leurs pratiques éclairées par les données de la recherche. Problèmes de phonétique et de morphologie, de syntaxe et de sémantique, démarches fonctionnelles et cognitives conduiront le lecteur à bien des considérations, parfois audacieuses, toujours dûment motivées. Ces textes ont été présentés lors du colloque de linguistique contrastive "Néerlandais-Français" organisé en étroite collaboration entre l'UCL et la KUL, en mars 2000 à Louvain-la Neuve.

BCILL 109: *Hethitica XV. Panthéons locaux de l'Asie Mineure pré-chrétienne. Premier Colloque Louis Delaporte – Eugène Cavaignac (Institut Catholique de Paris, 26-27 mai 2000), Acta Colloquii edenda curavit* René LEBRUN, 244 pp., 2002. Prix: 23 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1199-4.

BCILL 110: **J. PEKELDER**, *Décodage et interprétation. Ordres linguistique, iconique et pragmatique en néerlandais contemporain*, 298 pp. Louvain, Peeters, 2002. Prix: 42 €. ISBN: 978-90-429-1139-0.
Quel est le comportement du récepteur natif en néerlandais contemporain? Quelles sont les stratégies de décodage et d'interprétation de l'organisation linéaire des constituants? Comment construire valablement un modèle permettant de simuler ces stratégies? Telles sont les principales questions qu'aborde ce livre.

BCILL 111: **P. LORENTE FERNÁNDEZ**, *L'aspect verbal en grec ancien. Le choix des thèmes verbaux chez Isocrate*, 400 pp., Louvain, Peeters, 2003. Prix: 36 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1296-0.
Cet ouvrage présente une approche nouvelle du difficile problème de l'aspect verbal en grec ancien. Utilisant une base informatisée de 14980 formes verbales, il étudie en détail une cinquantaine de facteurs (morphologiques, syntaxiques et lexicaux) susceptibles d'avoir une incidence sur le choix aspectuel. Il en résulte que les temps de 95% des formes du corpus sont explicables par un ou plusieurs facteurs dont l'influence est statistiquement démontrable.

BCILL 112: **H. BOUILLON** (éd), *Langues à niveaux multiples. Hommage au Professeur Jacques Lerot à l'occasion de son éméritat*, 284 pp. Louvain, Peeters, 2004. Prix: 25 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1428-5.
Une moisson de faits de langue dans des cultures aussi bien proches qu'éloignées comme le Burundi ou Madagascar, examinés d'un point de vue linguistique, littéraire ou didactique: c'est ce que rassemblent les 18 articles de ce volume offert à Jacques Lerot à l'occasion de son éméritat. Leurs 21 auteurs ont voulu exprimer leur amitié au collègue émérite en employant les langues qui lui tiennent à cœur, français, allemand, néerlandais ou anglais.

BCILL 113: **É. TIFFOU** (éd), *Bourouchaskiana. Actes du Colloque sur le bourouchaski organisé à l'occasion du XXXVIe Congrès international sur les Études asiatiques et nord-africaines (Montréal, 27 août – 2 septembre 2002)*, 124 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2004. Prix: 15 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1528-2.
Ces *Bourouchaskiana* présentent un panorama des connaissances relatives au bourouchaski, langue sans parenté démontrée et qui constitue un isolat parlé par seulement quelques dizaines de milliers de locuteurs dans l'extrême nord du Pakistan. On y trouvera six articles dus à cinq éminents spécialistes: E. Bashir, H. Berger, Y. Morin, É. Tiffou et H. van Skyhawk.

BCILL 114: **R. GÉRARD**, *Phonétique et morphologie de la langue lydienne*, 130 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2005. Prix: 15 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1574-9.
Le lydien est une langue indo-européenne appartenant au groupe anatolien, à l'instar du hittite, du louvite, du palaïte, du lycien ou du carien. Elle est attestée par des inscriptions datées des VIII[e]-II[e] s. av. J.-C. Ce livre présente un état des lieux le la phonétique et de la morphologie lydienne.

BCILL 115: **L. FILLIETTAZ – J.-P. BRONCKART** (eds), *L'analyse des actions et des discours en situation de travail. Concepts, méthodes et applications*, 264 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2005. Prix: 33 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1612-8.
Cet ouvrage porte sur la dimension langagière des activités de travail. Il propose un ensemble de considérations théoriques et méthodologiques permettant d'en rendre compte. Ses contributions analysent des données empiriques issues de domaines professionnels variés (industrie, agriculture, services, école, formation professionnelle, etc.). Les points de vues envisagés sont eux-mêmes divers: psychologie du travail, didactique professionnelle, différents courants en linguistique du discours et de l'interaction.

BCILL 116: **W. O. DESMOND**, *Paroles de traducteur. De la traduction comme activité jubilatoire. Avant-propos de* F. ANTOINE, X-135 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2005. Prix: 16 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1626-5.
Paroles de traducteur est dû à un grand de la traduction contemporaine, William O. DESMOND – il a, entre autres, traduit en français Stephen King ou Donna Leon et est actuellement associé au DESS de traduction de l'Université de Bordeaux. Ce volume rassemble une belle moisson de réflexions concrètes, nourries par une longue pratique et soutenues par une claire vision de ce qu'est l'activité du traducteur.

BCILL 117: **E. CRESPO – J. DE LA VILLA – A. R. REVUELTA** (eds), *Word Classes and Related Topics in Ancient Greek. Proceedings of the Conference on 'Greek*

Syntax and Word Classes' held in Madrid on 18-21, June 2003, 584 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2006. Prix: 49 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1737-8.
This book presents an up-to-dated and thorough treatment of an important part of the syntax of Ancient Greek, the Word Classes. It reflects a large part of the research on Ancient Greek Syntax nowadays. It intends to be useful for classicists, historical linguists and Hellenists.

BCILL 118: **J. AMERLYNCK**, *Phraséologie potagère. Les noms de légumes dans les expressions françaises contemporaines*. Préface de Gaston GROSS. Illustrations de Th. AMERLYNCK, 250 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2006. Prix: 23 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1738-5.
La langue d'aujourd'hui regorge encore d'expressions figurées empruntées au monde des légumes. C'est que le potager inspire toujours le français du XXI[e] siècle: d'*avoir la patate* à *être dans les choux*, voire même à *tremper son poireau*... Ce livre fait l'inventaire de tout ce trésor potager, en retraçant l'évolution du sens et de la forme de ces locutions pleines de saveur.

BCILL 119: **G. STELL**, *Luxembourgish standardization. Context, ideology and comparability with the case of West Frisian*, 91 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2006. Prix: 10 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1847-4.
Labelled the 'youngest Germanic language', Luxembourgish is still in the process of being standardized. The modalities of this process have sought their justification in the imagery of a common Luxembourgish language already established in everyday practice. Confronting that imagery with data on actual language reality in Luxembourg, this book attempts to draw a parallel between Luxembourgish and the more standardized, but sociolinguistically comparable West Frisian.

BCILL 120: **Y. DUHOUX – A. MORPURGO DAVIES** (eds), *A Companion to Linear B. Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World*, Volume I, 430 pp., 2008. Prix: 55 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1848-1.
Linear B is the earliest form of writing used for Greek. The tablets written in this script offer crucial information about the Mycenaean Greeks and their time. This *Companion* aims at not only summarizing the results of current research but also trying to explain the problems which arise from the study of the texts and the methods wich can be used to solve them. It is aimed both at the beginner who needs an introduction to this area and to advanced scholars (archaeologists, historians, classicists) who require an up-to-date account which can serve as a standard reference tool and highlight the remaining problems.

BCILL 121: **E. ADAMOU** (éd), *Le nom des langues II. Le patrimoine plurilingue de la Grèce*, 153 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2008. Prix: 15 €. ISBN 978-90-429-2059-0.
Cet ouvrage présente les langues les moins parlées en Grèce contemporaine, héritage des empires byzantin et ottoman. S'appuyant sur des enquêtes de terrain, les auteurs présentent des informations sur la situation linguistique, sociolinguistique et historique de chaque langue, de même que sur son ou ses nom(s). Ces données sont indispensables pour appréhender le contexte général et les enjeux de la nomination des langues.

BCILL 122: **H. FUGIER**, *Les constructions causatives en malgache*, 132 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2009. Prix: 15 €. ISBN 978-90-429-2174-0.
Les constructions causatives en malgache décrivent les affixes (tous d'origine austronésienne) *man(a)-*, *-amp-* et *maha-* qui, adjoints à des radicaux verbaux/adjectivaux/nominaux, produisent des verbes causatifs. Ceux-ci ont en commun leur construction "à pivot", mais leur interprétation varie suivant la position et l'effet fonctionnel de chaque affixe, en explicitant les différentes valeurs de: production d'un effet, explication justificative, ingrédience…

BCILL 123: **M. BIRAUD**, *Les Interjections du théâtre grec antique. Étude sémantique et pragmatique*, 251 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2009. Prix: 25 €. ISBN 978-90-429-2231-0.
Quelles sont les valeurs des interjections du théâtre grec antique? Cet ouvrage les analyse minutieusement à partir d'une méthode innovante qui associe les acquis de la philologie à ceux de la linguistique pragmatique. *Public visé*: les lecteurs des œuvres théâtrales et des dialogues philosophiques, mais aussi les chercheurs en linguistisque et en linguistique générale.

BCILL 124: **C. DE FÉRAL**, *Le nom des langues III. Le nom des langues en Afrique sub-saharienne: pratiques, dénominations, catégorisations. Naming Languages in Sub-Saharan Africa: Practices, Names, Categorisations* (sous la direction de C. DE FÉRAL), 309 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2009. Prix: 30 €. ISBN 978-90-429-2270-9.
Les langues sont l'objet de représentations et d'enjeux multiples. Elles sont de ce fait souvent dotées de plusieurs noms, ce qui peut engendrer confusion et désaccords. Il convient donc de se demander «qui nomme, quelle langue, pour qui et quand?». Ce volume consacré à l'Afrique sub-saharienne recense et questionne un millier de dénominations qui se réfèrent à des langues africaines («ethniques» et véhiculaires), des langues européennes qui assument la fonction de langues officielles, et des pratiques issues du contact entre ces langues européennes et africaines (pidgins, créoles et «parlers jeunes»).

BCILL 125: **S. LURAGHI**, *Linguistique historique et indo-européenne*, XV-281 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2010. Prix: 29 €. ISBN 978-90-429-2341-6.
Cette introduction place la reconstruction de la protolangue indo-européenne et la différenciation des familles linguistiques dans la perspective des théories récentes du changement linguistique. Ce livre examine aussi les questions relatives à la parenté typologique et la parenté aréale des langues. Chaque chapitre s'accompagne d'un résumé et d'une liste de lectures conseillées.

BCILL 126: **R. LEBRUN** (éd), *Hethitica* XVI. *Studia Anatolica in memoriam Erich Neu dicata*, 205 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2010. Prix: 32 €. ISBN 978-90-429-2338-6.
Ce volume contient les contributions d'une quinzaine de spécialistes des langues anatoliennes anciennes soucieux de rendre hommage au Professeur Erich Neu décédé prématurément. Les articles concernent la philologie hittite, louvite, palaïte, hourrite, ourartéenne, autant que des aspects particuliers de la religion hittite ou de l'histoire syro-hittite.

BCILL 127: **Y. DUHOUX – A. MORPURGO DAVIES** (eds), *A Companion to Linear B. Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World*, Volume 2, VIII-343 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2011. Prix: 55 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1848-1.
Linear B is the earliest form of writing used for Greek. The tablets written in this script offer crucial information about the Mycenaean Greeks and their time. This *Companion* aims at not only summarizing the results of current research but also trying to explain the problems which arise from the study of the texts and the methods which can be used to solve them. It is aimed both at the beginner who needs an introduction to this area and to advanced scholars (archaeologists, historians, classicists) who require an up-to-date account which can serve as a standard reference tool and highlight the remaining problems.

BCILL 128: **A. BARTOLOTTA** (ed), *The Greek verb. Morphology, Syntax, and Semantics. Proceedings of the 8th International Meeting on Greek Linguistics, Agrigento, October 1-3, 2009*, X-342 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2013. Prix: 57 €. ISBN 978-90-429-2722-3.
This volume contains the papers presented at the 8th International Meeting on Greek Linguistics held in Agrigento in October 2009, hosted by the University of Palermo, Italy. The conference was aimed at discussing trending issues on the Ancient Greek verbal system. The contributions analyze phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic phenomena from various areas of grammar pertaining to the verb, using a corpus which ranges mostly from Homeric to Classical Greek.

BCILL 129: **R. JENN**, *La pseudo-traduction, de Cervantès à Mark Twain*, VIII-143 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2013. Prix: 35 €. ISBN 978-90-429-2721-6.
Voici un livre qui apportera du neuf aux traductologues. À l'aide d'études de cas, il redessine le périmètre théorique de la pseudo-traduction. Outre *Don Quichotte* et *Walladmor*, il s'intéresse tout spécialement au XIX^{e} siècle américain et à ses trois pseudo-traductions marquantes, dues à Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne et Mark Twain.

BCILL 130: **C. DE FÉRAL** (ed), *In and Out of Africa. Languages in Question*. Volume 1. *Language Contact and Epistemological Issues*, VI-236 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2013. Prix: 45 €. ISBN 978-90-429-2908-1.
This *Festschrift*, dedicated to Robert Nicolaï, consists of twenty-seven articles, grouped in two volumes (Vol. 1: *Language Contact and Epistemological Issues*; Vol. 2: *Contact and Language Change in Africa*). It also contains an interview with Robert Nicolaï: who could explain his scholarly trajectory and stature better than he himself! All contributions deal with at least one of the research areas to which his works can be ascribed, especially African linguistics, contact linguistics, and epistemology.

BCILL 131: **A. BERNABÉ – E. R. LUJÁN** (eds), *Donum Mycenologicum. Mycenaean Studies in Honour of Fransico Aura Jorro*, X-276 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2014. Prix: 55 €. ISBN 978-90-429-2909-8.
This volume, published in honour of F. Aura Jorro, the author of the standard Mycenaean dictionary, covers a wide range of subjects dealing with Linear B tablets, Mycenaean culture, and related fields. The papers collected provide new insights into a number of various subjects: Linear B scripts and texts, Mycenaean grammar, lexicon and religion.

BCILL 132: **C. DE FÉRAL – M. G. KOSSMANN – M. TOSCO** (eds), *In and Out of Africa. Languages in Question. In Honour of Robert Nicolaï. Volume 2. Language Contact and Language Change in Africa*, IV-329 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2014. Prix: 58 €. ISBN 978-90-429-2927-2.

This *Festschrift*, dedicated to Robert Nicolaï, consists of twenty-seven articles, grouped in two volumes (Vol. 1: *Language Contact and Epistemological Issues*, Vol. 2: *Contact and Language Change in Africa*). It also contains an interview with Robert Nicolaï: who could explain his scholarly trajectory and stature better than he himself! All contributions deal with at least one of the research areas to which his works can be ascribed, especially African linguistics, contact linguistics, and epistemology.

SÉRIE PÉDAGOGIQUE DE L'INSTITUT DE LINGUISTIQUE DE LOUVAIN (SPILL)

VOLUMES RÉCENTS

Tous les volumes antérieurs de la SPILL sont disponibles et peuvent être commandés chez les Editions Peeters.

SPILL 20: **C. CAMPOLINI, V. VAN HÖVELL, A. VANSTEELANDT**, *Dictionnaire de Logopédie: Le développement normal du langage et sa pathologie.* XVI-138 pp; 1997. Prix: 12 €. ISBN 978-90-6831-897-5.
Cet ouvrage rassemble les termes utilisés en logopédie-orthophonie pour décrire la genèse du langage et les troubles qui peuvent entraver les processus normaux de son acquisition. Première étape d'une réflexion qui cherche à construire un outil terminologique spécialement destiné aux professionnels du langage, il s'adresse également aux parents et enseignants, témoins privilégiés de l'évolution linguistique des enfants.

SPILL 21: **Fr. THYRION**, *L'écrit argumenté. Questions d'apprentissage*, 285 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1997. Prix: 25 €. ISBN 978-90-6831-918-7.
Ce livre est destiné aux enseignants du secondaire et du supérieur qui ont à enseigner la tâche créative à haut degré de complexité qu'est l'écrit argumenté. Les opérations d'un apprentissage progressif et adapté au niveau des apprenants y sont passées en revue, de même que les étapes et les indices de la maîtrise du processus.

SPILL 22: **C. CAMPOLINI, V. VAN HÖVELL, A. VANSTEELANDT**, *Dictionnaire de logopédie: Les troubles logopédiques de la sphère O.R.L.*, XV-123 pp; 1998. Prix: 15 €. ISBN 90-429-0006-7.
Ce livre est une suite logique d'un premier ouvrage et se veut une étape dans la construction d'un dictionnaire exhaustif du langage logopédique. Il aborde les domaines du dysfonctionnement tubaire, de l'orthopédie dento-faciale, de la dysphagie et dysphonie. S'il s'adresse bien sûr aux logopèdes-orthophonistes, il cherche aussi à interpeller les spécialistes de l'équipe pluridisciplinaire et susciter ainsi la rencontre de savoir-faire complémentaires.

SPILL 23: **Ph. BLANCHET**, *Introduction à la complexité de l'enseignement du français langue étrangère*, 253 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1998. Prix: 23 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0234-3.
Cet ouvrage novateur propose un parcours à travers les questions fondamentales qui se posent quant à la diffusion et l'enseignement du «Français Langue Étrangère». On les examine de points de vue issus de courants scientifiques récents (interculturalité, pragmatique, sociolinguistique, sciences de l'éducation), dans une éthique pluraliste respectueuse de l'Autre, associant diversité et unité. Une bibliographie fournie étaye le propos et ouvre vers des développements ultérieurs. Ce livre s'adresse à ceux qui désirent s'initier à la didactique des langues, s'orienter vers l'enseignement et la diffusion du F.L.E., ainsi que plus largement à tous ceux que la question des langues et de culture intéresse.

SPILL 24: **J. GRAND'HENRY**, *Une grammaire arabe à l'usage des Arabes*, 154 pp., Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 1999. Prix: 13 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0761-4.
L'étudiant francophone qui souhaite apprendre la langue arabe dans une université européenne utilisera généralement une grammaire arabe rédigée en français par un arabisant, et il y en a d'excellentes. S'il dépasse le niveau élémentaire et veut se perfectionner par des séjours linguistiques en pays arabe, il se trouvera rapidement confronté à un problème difficile: celui de la grammaire arabe à l'usage des Arabes, la seule employée par les enseignants arabophones dans l'ensemble du monde arabe, qu'elle s'adresse à des étudiants arabophones ou non. Pour cette raison, l'auteur du présent ouvrage s'efforce depuis plusieurs années d'initier ses étudiants au vocabulaire technique de la grammaire arabe destinée aux Arabes. On aperçoit l'avantage d'une telle méthode: permettre à l'étudiant francophone d'aborder d'emblée des cours de perfectionnement de niveau supérieur en pays arabe, en ayant acquis au préalable les bases indispensables. Il s'agit ici de la traduction et des commentaires d'un manuel libanais largement utilisé dans les écoles du monde arabe.

SPILL 25: **C. CAMPOLINI, V. VAN HÖVELL, A. VANSTEELANDT**, *Dictionnaire de logopédie: Le développement du langage écrit et sa pathologie*. Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2000. Prix: 15 €. ISBN 978-90-429-0862-8.
Ce troisième volet du «dictionnaire de logopédie» s'inscrit comme une suite logique des deux ouvrages qui l'ont précédé. Après avoir envisagé le langage oral, son évolution normale et les troubles qui peuvent entraver son développement, les auteurs se devaient de prolonger leur réflexion en se penchant sur le langage écrit dont le point d'encrage s'appuie sur un ensemble de bases linguistiques, préalablement intégrées.

SPILL 26: **C. CAMPOLINI, A. TIMMERMANS, A. VANSTEELANDT**, *Dictionnaire de logopédie. La construction du nombre*. Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 2002. Prix: 15 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1093-5.
Cet ouvrage prolonge la réflexion terminologique poursuivie dans le secteur de la logopédie. Les auteurs abordent ici un domaine qui peut apparaître, de prime abord, assez éloigné de la vocation paramédicale première des logopèdes. L'élaboration de la notion de nombre est d'ailleurs un domaine qui intéresse tout autant les enseignants, les psychologues et les éducateurs en général, spécialisés ou non. Les logopèdes sont pourtant souvent sollicités pour la rééducation des troubles d'apprentissage en calcul dont les causes profondes doivent être recherchées dans les toutes premières étapes du développement cognitif.

SPILL 27: **C. CAMPOLINI, F. TOLLET, A. VANSTEELANDT**, *Dictionnaire de logopédie. Les troubles acquis du langage, des gnosies et des praxies*. Louvain-La-Neuve. Peeters, 2003. Prix: 25 €. ISBN 978-90-429-1278-6.
Cet ouvrage constitue le cinquième volume d'une série consacrée à la réflexion terminologique relative au langage spécifique des logopèdes-orthophonistes. Les auteurs abordent ici le vaste domaine des troubles acquis suite à une atteinte cérébrale. La recherche a permis de mettre en évidence la complexité des pathologies rencontrées qui débordent le cadre, déjà large pourtant, des symptômes langagiers. Les practiciens se doivent d'aborder les patients dans une perspective globale en tenant compte de l'ensemble des perturbations cognitives. Si beaucoup de questions restent encore en suspens, cette recherche permet de faire un état actuel de la question et de clarifier des notions qui restent souvent très floues pour les praticiens.